

THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

Vol. XXIV

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No. 1

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CHILD WELFARE—A CHALLENGE TO BOTH PRIVATE AND PUBLIC AGENCIES¹

KATHARINE F. LENROOT

THE life-span of the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society covers two-thirds of a century. It is historically related to work begun in New York a full century ago directed toward placing in private families the homeless, ragged, and neglected children who in that period were a common and pitiful sight in the streets of our larger cities. It is fitting that at this annual meeting, occurring so early in this mid-century year, we should consider how far we have come in the first half, and the goals toward which we wish to direct our efforts in the second half, of the twentieth century.

It is true to say that we live in a radically different world from that which saw the dawn of the twentieth century. Time has been foreshortened. The degree of change has been such as would in other periods have occupied several centuries, at least. This acceleration has been due to man's increasing understanding of the nature of the universe and to the capacity to utilize its processes, for good or for ill, that such an understanding gives.

Einstein is now declaring, in terms so complex that only the elite among scien-

tists can understand them, the unity of gravitation and electromagnetism, in other words, the interrelationship of "all known physical phenomena into one all-embracing intellectual concept." This truth the wise men of Egypt and the East, the Greek philosophers, and the Hebrew prophets saw through the eyes of abstract reason, intuition, and faith. St. Paul, in writing to the Ephesians, spoke of the "unity of the Spirit," of "One God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all." Man has not had sufficient faith in this unity to live in accordance with its demands, and so, throughout the ages, our little world has been torn asunder by disunity and strife. Now the practical application of the scientific process compels men to find ways of living together within the limits of principles universally applied or to court destruction.

Dr. Brock Chisholm, psychiatrist and director-general of the World Health Organization, has said:

In order that the human race may survive on this planet, it is necessary that there should be enough people in enough places in the world who do not have to fight each other, who are not the kinds of people who will fight each other, and who are the kinds of people who will take effective

¹ Paper given at the Sixty-sixth Annual Meeting of the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, Chicago, Illinois, January 5, 1950.

tive measures whenever it is necessary to prevent other people's fighting.

Again Dr. Chisholm asserted that:

The only real threat to man—is man himself—the difficulty man has with himself is that he cannot use his highly developed intellect effectively because of his neurotic fears, his prejudices, his fanaticisms, his unreasoning hates, and equally unreasoning devotions; in fact, his failure to reach emotional maturity, or mental health.

It would appear that the products of man's intelligence and energy have commanded a tremendous amount of attention and effort in the first fifty years of the twentieth century. Our energy and resources must be centered upon man himself in the next fifty years if he is not to be destroyed by the Frankensteins of his own creation. Recent trends in political life indicate that issues revolving around human welfare are being given high priority. "The proper study of mankind is man," reasserts Stuart Chase in basing his recent book^a on Pope's famous dictum. We can look forward to the year 2000 with faith and confidence only as we resolve at the mid-century point to make man central and the things of his creation truly servants of the human personality, with its inalienable attributes of freedom, worth, and moral purpose. The study of man must begin with study of how his personality develops from earliest infancy to the maturity which years should, but frequently do not, bring.

Fortunately, in this great enterprise, we have both an underlying philosophy and some tools to work with, though these tools are primitive indeed when compared with the resources at our disposal in the natural sciences and with their application.

^a *The Proper Study of Mankind . . . An Inquiry into the Science of Human Relations* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1948).

The underlying philosophy grows out of our Hebrew-Christian heritage and is in harmony with modern ideas of the physical universe. It rests upon a concept that man is essentially a spiritual being, related inescapably to the Author and Sustainer of creation, and on the further concept that man, because of his nature and his relation to the Spirit holding all the universe within its being, is a morally responsible agent. It is this philosophy which underlies the work of the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth. In the "Focus" of the conference adopted by the national committee appointed by the President, it is affirmed that the "Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth bases its concern for children on the primacy of spiritual values, democratic practice, and the dignity and worth of every individual."

This concern must be expressed in behalf of "every child," an idea which was the unfinished theme of the fourth White House Conference, the 1940 conference on "Children in a Democracy." And our objective, for "every child," to quote again the statement of purpose of the mid-century conference, is to "develop . . . the mental, emotional, and spiritual qualities essential to individual happiness and to responsible citizenship."

What are some of the tools we have to work with in achieving these objectives for our children? First of all, there is the great reservoir of what is called "common sense," built up through the experience of the ages. It begins with the instinct to love, nurture, and protect a child. It has grown through generations of observation and experience as to what works and what does not work. It has been expressed in the writings of philosophers and educators; it has become imbedded in law and practice, with many

imperfections and exceptions. It varies in different civilizations and among different cultural groups within larger societies. Only within the past half-century has it come to be subject to widespread scientific observation, summarization, and generalization. In spite of the dramatic achievements of our era in the physical sciences and the tragic failures in human relations, Overstreet, in *The Mature Mind* states that "the characteristic knowledge of our century is psychological. Even the most dramatic advances in physics and chemistry are chiefly applications of known methods of research. But the attitude toward human nature and human experience that has come in our time is new."

These advances, like all others in human experience, grew out of necessity. A society which understood that universal access to educational opportunity is basic to popular government was forced to study educationally retarded and deviate children. A society which expected of its citizens voluntary compliance with the rules essential to protection of the rights of person and property to which every citizen is entitled, and which felt its sense of justice outraged by the punishment of children too immature to be responsible for their acts, asked why children become delinquent and how delinquent tendencies can be prevented and overcome. A society in which barriers of caste and rigid class did not prevent imaginative identification of one's self with the poverty and misery of others was impelled to the study of social conditions and social relationships, as well as to the study of the great movements of social reform which characterized the latter part of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth century. Thus we have developed a large amount of understanding of human behavior through the disciplines

of psychology, psychiatry, cultural anthropology, sociology, economics, and the professions of teaching, medicine, and social work.

The difficulty is that much of this knowledge is incomplete and needs to be tested and refined through more extensive research and, above all, be brought together and integrated so that the contributions of all can be used more effectively by parents, by teachers, and by all who live with, work with, and serve children.

This is the primary task of the fact-finding work of the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth—to help to lay the foundation for a great advance in understanding of child growth and practices of child-rearing in the last half of the twentieth century by bringing together in usable form pertinent knowledge related to the development of children and indicating areas in which further knowledge is needed and by examining the physical, economic, and social environment in which children are growing up, with a view to determining its influence upon them, and studying the ways in which the home, the school, the church, welfare agencies, and other institutions, individually and collectively, are serving the needs of children.

Only a beginning can be made in such an ambitious undertaking before the conference meets in Washington in the week of December 3, 1950. A most significant contribution can be made, however, by establishing an approach, enlisting the co-operation of specialists in many fields, putting into usable form some of what we now know, and indicating the general character, and to some extent the methods, of further research. If we are in earnest in this country about developing men and women capable of using and not misusing the powers that

science and invention have placed in their hands, we must be willing to invest many times the amount now going into research in child life. What government is now doing is only a drop in a rain barrel. Research centers, both public and private, throughout the country are eager for assistance in the development of broadly conceived research projects and for the stimulation of research activity that comes from a broad foundation of support from both private and public funds. We had better invest money in studying the ways in which children can be helped to grow into responsible persons in whose hands atomic energy can be intrusted, giving such research even higher priority than research which constantly increases the efficiency with which atomic energy can be put to work.

What bearing do these developments have on the work of private and public child welfare agencies, and what challenges do they bring to those who finance and carry on their activities?

If the central objective of the second half of the twentieth century is to be the development of the human personality, we need something of the crusading spirit of the century's earliest years. I think it was about 1911 that there was held in the city of Chicago a great child welfare exhibit, portraying vividly the hazards of infancy, the neglect of childhood, and the exploitation of children represented by child labor in factory, tenement, and city streets. That exhibit, financed through private enterprise, had a great influence in awakening the conscience of the people of the entire nation concerning children. The first White House Conference, called in 1909 by President Theodore Roosevelt; the establishment of the Federal Children's Bureau in 1912; the juvenile court movement, first taking form in Chicago on the eve of the twentieth cen-

tury; financial aid to needy children in their own homes, first developed in a few places under private, and later more generally under public, auspices; establishment of playgrounds; the settlement-house movement; child-labor laws; child-protection and child-placing services—these were all expressions of the stirred conscience of America in relation to childhood and the willingness of citizens to crusade and to work in behalf of children.

Zeal for child welfare must be directed by the scientific approach. Thirty years ago social investigation was the handmaiden of social reform. Facts were gathered and publicized. Then, as decade followed decade, there came to be great emphasis on the interpersonal aspects of social work and child welfare—the relation between parent and child, teacher and pupil, case worker and client, psychiatrist and patient, and, in child-placing work, the relationships of parent, child, foster-parent, and agency, one to the other. This emphasis called for professional training for workers with children, a need met, in part, through establishment and extension of schools of social work and of professional training in related fields. In this stage, also, we saw great emphasis on the development of standards in various fields and recognition of the responsibility of the state to see that services on behalf of children, both those supported from private, and those from public, funds, met certain tests of competence. Our efforts on behalf of children must follow fast on the heels of new scientific knowledge.

There must be great flexibility and freedom of initiative on the part of both private and public agencies. Throughout the early period of modern child welfare work citizens showed willingness to accept responsibility for services to chil-

dren having particular needs and requiring more than home, school, and community agencies serving all children could give. This responsibility was exercised by those who gave money and personal service to agencies conducted under private auspices and by those who as voters and taxpayers supported public agencies. Frequently, leaders in the field of private child care have been the first to recognize the need for the wider support and greater universality of service that can be given under public auspices. A need for service was first identified by private citizens, and service was usually begun by private agencies, sometimes with support from both local and national voluntary sources. Even in the case of the juvenile court, by its nature a public agency, probation service in Chicago, where the new movement was born, was at first financed from private funds. The rapid growth of the mothers' pension movement represented the greatest early extension of public responsibility for child welfare, foreshadowing the present programs of aid to dependent children. It is interesting to note that the first White House Conference on Children, held in 1909, recommended that such aid be given through private agencies, but within the next five years the movement for public aid for dependent children in their own homes was sweeping the country.

Development of methods of co-operation and interaction between public and private agencies, citizens and professional workers, and different professional groups is essential. Among the methods that have been used in the first half of the century are nation-wide and state-wide review of needs and development of goals and recommendations, community planning through councils of social agencies and other community groups, advisory committees serving official agencies on which

citizens and voluntary agencies are represented, and efforts to bring home, school, church, and community closer together.

The Midcentury White House Conference should help us to clarify goals and to enlist us in a great crusading effort to achieve them. Among these goals in the child welfare field will doubtless be the following:

1. Extension of child welfare services to all who need them, wherever they may live and to whatever economic or cultural group their parents belong. In our democracy this should be achieved through expansion of the services of both public and private agencies, planning and working together.

2. Improvement of the quality of service given through maintaining high standards of competence of personnel, whether employed under public or under private auspices, adequate salaries and conditions of employment, and improved methods of professional preparation and staff development. Public child welfare agencies have gone further than many private agencies in personnel standards, opportunities for professional education, and staff-development programs.

3. Applying the scientific approach to all services to children, whether public or private, by basing what is done on an understanding of the unique needs of each child served, choosing the form of care best adapted to meet those needs, providing a quality of service that will apply in his behalf all that we have learned about personality development, and testing the results of service through scientific study.

4. Intermeshing the work of home, school, church, and health, social, and recreational agencies so that their co-operative efforts can be centered on the developing personality of the child within

their range of service and so that all can be infused with and use the tools of modern understanding of child development.

5. Relating the services given to particular children to positive programs for the improvement of conditions in the environment jeopardizing the health and welfare of many more children than those given individual service by any social agency. Wretched, overcrowded housing, jail detention of children, outworn methods of dealing with children in courts and correctional institutions, methods of child care that ignore either the emotional or the spiritual needs of children, cannot be tolerated in the second half of this twentieth century.

6. Inventiveness in devising new types of service and new methods of education and guidance. The development of homemaker service, foster-family care of children who are retarded or handicapped or socially maladjusted, child-guidance services, educational and vocational counseling service, are examples of such social inventiveness.

I have not outlined any clear lines of demarcation between public and private effort in behalf of children. Though experimentation has usually been done by private agencies, which are free to select their own form of service and to limit its scope, public agencies have also carried on important demonstration and experimental work. What is essential in a society based on democratic principles may be summarized as follows:

1. Recognition of the moral responsibility of individual citizens to call attention to need and to try to meet that need, through person-to-person service and through voluntary association with other individuals as well as through influencing public policy. Great resources for enlisting citizen interest and action exist in labor and farm groups, as well as in busi-

ness, civic, and social organizations. They are as yet largely untapped.

2. Freedom to experiment under the relatively unrestricted conditions of private effort and to give support to purposes that best commend themselves to individual conscience and motive.

3. Personal knowledge of and association with services to which support is given, as widely diffused as possible in the case of public services and an inherent part of private programs.

4. Freedom to give services to groups closely tied by religious belief or other factors to those supporting and directing these services.

5. Full regard for the responsibility of public agencies in requiring standards of care, worked out through participation of all interested groups, and in planning for children in whose behalf public funds are expended. The services of voluntary agencies frequently can be utilized in caring for and serving these children under plans mutually acceptable to the public, and the private, agency.

Careful evaluation of the forms and conditions in which service is given and of the quality of service is an essential part of a social program for the coming decades. Freedom to experiment and effective personal participation in selecting goals and programs and in giving service may be restricted under private, as well as under public, effort. Community-chest programs, nation-wide appeals for specific purposes, as well as for public services, need to be studied from the point of view of the relation of the giver and the service given, whether the gift be legally compulsory through taxation or socially expected, as in the case of community-chest and other drives.

Our concern for children must include those of all lands as well as the children within our own borders. Children must

be given high priority in the work of the United Nations. The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund has demonstrated the appeal which child welfare has for the peoples of the world and the ways in which international assistance can stimulate and strengthen programs and services within nations.

In summary, our work for children in the last half of the twentieth century must receive high priority in citizen interest and in public and private support. It must be impelled by a crusading spirit, directed by a scientific approach, and or-

ganized on the basis of broad social planning in which the individual citizen, the voluntary agency, and the public official have their part. It must include in the scope of its concern the children of the entire world. It must be infused with understanding of the dignity and worth of human personality and its relation to the divine spirit and purpose that brings wholeness to the stars and to the atoms and to the human soul.

CHILDREN'S BUREAU
SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION
FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

SOCIAL SECURITY AND THE WELFARE STATE¹

JOHN J. CORSON

THE "welfare state" has become a brand of censure. The term "welfare" was once used to connote good things—humanitarianism, generosity, concern for others. But now it has attained an odious flavor. The term is used often in political discussions, and usually with a sneer and a curl of the lip. It does not seem to matter that our founding fathers directed our government to "promote the general welfare." Today those activities of government which would aid people are branded as "the welfare state"—and that (it is not clear just what it is) is assuredly bad.

That we have on good authority. The Hon. Jimmy Byrnes, onetime secretary of state, warns that, if we continue to extend welfare services, "the typical American soon will be an economic slave pulling an oar in the galley of the state." Not to be outdone—by any Democrat—Senator Taft contends that, in extending welfare services, we are heading straight for socialism. "That's what," he says, "the welfare state is." General Eisenhower added his laments in June. He warned the graduates of Columbia University against "those who seek through governmental assurance that they can forever count upon a full stomach and warm cloak." Finally, the great apostle of the "good old days," spoke out on his seventy-fifth birthday. The "welfare state," Herbert Hoover explained, is simply a "disguise for the totalitarian state."

¹ Paper read at the Fifty-fourth Conference, Illinois Welfare Association, Peoria, Illinois, October, 1949.

THE OPPOSING VIEW

One dares question the views of such eminent citizens only because other national leaders contend, with equal vigor, for expanded social security, better housing, health insurance, better schools, at least in the poorer states, and the guaranty of essential food, clothing, and shelter for every family.

Over the last two decades those who have fought for the extension of welfare services have prevailed. But now the opposition is rolling up. Hence we must take stock. It will not suffice for us to talk of cases and rules and regulations. We must lift our noses above the minutiae of our day-by-day concerns and consider whether there are good and sufficient reasons for the services that we are providing and propose to extend. Or are we providing too much security, so much, indeed, that we are destroying the initiative and incentive of the individuals we serve? And are we trading security for personal freedom?

THE REASONS

When the national myth of rugged individualism was founded on fact, our great-grandparents lived on farms. They relied for their security on the farm and the family. Since then both the farm and the family—at least as they were then—have ceased to exist. Yes, there are still farms, and there are still families, but they are vastly different in character. More important, they are less able to provide jobs for the able-bodied and security for the sick, the aged, the orphaned, and the unemployed.

Within these generations the number of people living on farms in this country has declined from more than thirty million to but twenty-seven million. The farm itself has changed. Some farms have become, in fact, "field factories," on which dozens work for wages even as their brothers do in factories. Many other farms are but commuters' sidelines. Still a larger number are one-crop farms, raising a single crop for an annual harvest marketed for cash. Few farms remain which are operated by a family, first, to produce a living and, secondarily, to produce a cash crop.

Within these generations, too, the family has changed. The typical family once included grandparents, aunts and uncles, perhaps a cousin or a niece—and children. Now the aunts and uncles, cousins and nieces, are seldom to be found, and there are fewer children. The most revolutionary effect of the industrial revolution of the last two generations has been the destruction of the family.

In a civilization of farms and farm people the family is a team. Husband and wife team up in (1) rearing children and then team up with the children in (2) producing a living. When farm people go to the cities to work in shops, stores, and factories, the family disintegrates. Father goes to work in the plant or in an office miles from home. Mother may leave home, too, and find a job. Mother and children are no longer part of the economic team. And the family often cannot—or will not—afford the luxury of performing its biological function of producing children.

SECURITY IN JOBS

Today the security of most of us rests, first and foremost, on the unstable and unpredictable opportunities that we have

to get and to hold a job. When our grandparents were growing up, not more than nine million persons worked in urban jobs. In September, 1949, fifty million persons were working in city jobs. And, of these, more than fifteen million were women, many of them wives and mothers. For the first time in history we have a society composed predominantly of employees; three out of four persons in the United States work for a boss and for wages.

Where these people work is not important. What this shift in jobs means to the security of the individual *is* important. Even today the farm provides a large measure of security for those who make of it a place in which both to earn a living and to live. Farm folk have all sorts of reserves to turn to when the going gets tough. Land grows food. Wood lots produce warmth, and the rambling farmhouses foster family life. Farm folk do not need much cash for food or for clothes. They need less cash for commuting to the office or for movies and ball games than the white-collar city fellow needs.

Cash is just about as essential to the city-dwelling, job-holding worker and his family as is the oxygen that he breathes. He must have a continuing flow of cash for rent, the grocer's bills, the milk bill, to buy water, light, and heat, and to pay the doctors. And he must also have cash to buy clothes, to pay streetcar fares, to buy lunch downtown, to go to the movies, and to pay the baby-sitter.

SECURITY IN SAVINGS

Stop the wages which bring him cash, and he seldom has savings enough to provide security for long. The farmer often could not save money. His security was accumulated in land, larger herds and flocks, and sometimes cash in the bank.

Today the typical American city-dwelling, job-holding family can save only in cash and, in fact, can save little of that. Last week the Federal Reserve Board reported on its annual study of the incomes and savings of American families. Their study revealed that in 1948 the bulk of all American families (53 per cent) had incomes under \$3,000 and that, of these families, almost half owned no liquid assets—in simpler words, had no government bonds, no savings account, and no checking account. Most of those who did have some such savings had less than \$500.

Yet Herbert Hoover, in August, voiced the traditional view that "it is out of savings that people must provide their individual and family security." Well—most Americans, the Federal Reserve Board's study makes palpably clear, do not provide their security from savings.

A recent study of what it costs the typical city worker to live suggests the reason. This typical city worker had a wife and two children (aged eight and thirteen) and few other luxuries. The family occupied a five-room flat with one bathroom. Mother did all the housework. Father had one heavy suit every two years, one light suit every three years, five shirts and two pairs of shoes each year. Mother got a heavy wool coat every four years, four dresses and three pairs of shoes each year. As for the children, the girl got one snow suit or heavy coat every two years, four dresses and four pairs of shoes; the boy, one sweater or jacket, two pairs of trousers, three pairs of shoes each year. What about entertainment? Father, mother, and daughter went to the movies once every three weeks, son once every two weeks.

This modest budget required \$3,111 in Washington. That sum provided for taxes, a small allowance for doctors' bills and insurance. It left nothing over to buy

government bonds or to deposit in savings accounts. And, remember, 53 per cent of our families had annual incomes in 1948 of less than \$3,000!

We city dwellers still use such quaint phrases as "making a living," "saving for a rainy day," and "a man will never go hungry if he is willing to work." All were founded on beautiful fact when we lived on farms, but we no longer live on farms. Think of the vast expanse of territory stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific; then think of 135 pinpoints on this map. These are the 135 metropolitan centers in which the bulk of all Americans live.

SECURITY IN THE FAMILY

We use another quaint phrase inherited from our farm-owning ancestors. Young brides still threaten "to go home to mother." Of course, there is no room for daughter in the flat of the typical city worker's family. Moreover, mother is probably many miles away. Within the few years since 1940, some twenty-five million people, or one-fifth of the total civilian population born before April 1, 1940, moved from the county in which they lived then. Consequently, when unemployment, illness, or old age hits, many workers cannot turn to close relatives. When the baby came, in years gone by, mother or mother-in-law came in to nurse the new mother and the newborn. Now there is a demand for "maternity benefits"—for cash, in short, to pay the nurse or hospital that replaces mother.

Twentieth-century Americans are a footloose lot. If they are to enjoy security, we must reckon with the needs and stresses of the people removed from every kind of kin—and even from the neighborhoods and localities to which they had ties.

The family simply does not provide the reserve for today's city dwellers that

it did for their grandparents. The family meal used to be a regular and ceremonial gathering for the clan. Now it has been replaced by a semifree lunch counter. Parents and children eat on the run and eat many of their meals away from home.

Recreation, too, used to be largely a family affair. Now it separates father, mother, and children rather than binding them together. In the city, daughter finds her recreation at the school, the corner movie, or the YW. Johnnie eats peanuts at the high-school ball park or is hiking with the Boy Scouts. Mother plays bridge, and father plays golf on the municipal course.

For many Americans—not all—the home has become a filling station through which humans drive daily to obtain shelter and food. Its spiritual values have been reduced, and its economic strength has simply disappeared. Children, instead of being an economic asset as they were on the farm, have become a financial burden. Parents who are no longer self-supporting become a dreaded liability.

INVISIBILITY OF CHANGE

Yet in 1949 many Americans—and I am so bold as to include Mr. Byrnes, Senator Taft, General Eisenhower, and Mr. Hoover—are blinded by three old and obsolete but tenaciously held beliefs. These beliefs are, first, that each individual can and should maintain himself; second, that government should do as little as possible, not so much as is needed; and, third, that man is at heart a worthless cuss who is perfectly willing to lay down his tools at the slightest hint that someone will care for him. Those who cling to these beliefs are already part of the past. They should be placed in little museum rooms marked "the 1900's," "the 1910's," and "the 1920's." If they could free their minds of the tradition and folklore of our simple agricultural

past, they would see that millions who never sought public aid in days gone by have nowhere else to turn now but to the government.

Take this view of Senator Taft's for example: "The poor," he says, "we have always with us . . . they cannot maintain a decent standard of living. And that offends the humane sense of the American people." Hence Senator Taft explains that he favors welfare measures to provide a minimum standard of living for the people at the bottom of the scale. *But*, he adds, "there should be no benefits for those who can afford to pay for them."

Test his conclusion against the problems of that 53 per cent of all American families who in 1948 had incomes of less than \$3,000. Their reserves, in savings or in family, are dreadfully inadequate. Their savings are not sufficient to tide them over a long period of unemployment or to pay the costs of a major illness. There is little insurance to support mother and the kids if father dies. And the chances are five to one there will not be enough to live on when father is old and can no longer work. *The most insecure among us today are the members of these self-supporting families with small incomes, say, less than \$250 a month.*

EVOLVING SECURITY INSTITUTIONS

As a consequence we have abandoned the obsolete assumption that men and women become in need only through some fault of their own. Hence we have, in turn, replaced the meager charity we gave to the needy by, first, "grocery orders" and then "cash grants," subsequently "work relief wages," and finally "social insurance payments." Each of these steps forward represented social inventions of as great significance as Watt's steam engine, Fulton's steamboat, or Edison's electric light. They were sig-

nificant because they recognized the insecurity of those who are at the moment self-supporting as well as those already down and out. They, too, represented an increasing appreciation of the rights and freedom of the individual who had to ask for help.

You cannot overestimate the ingenuity of those social inventors who drafted the Social Security Act. They faced up to the simple fact that whenever someone cannot work because of unemployment, old age, or death, he or his dependents need income to replace the wages that have ceased. Hence they invented a system that assumes that the amount needed will be roughly proportionate to the wages that have stopped and the number of mouths that remain to be fed. These assumptions eliminate the necessity of investigating each individual's need or of supervising how he uses these benefits. Because the insured worker contributes through pay-roll taxes to the cost of these benefits, we, as a people, feel better about paying benefits without requiring proof of destitution; and the recipient's conscience permits him to take the benefits.

Thus we accomplish all we did through relief—we put essential cash in the hands of people who need it. But we do it infinitely better because we preserve the individual's self-respect. Insurance is a good word; relief, an unpleasant one. And there's a lot in using the right word!

ATTAINING HUMAN SECURITY

If we are to attain security for *all* our people, we must have more, not less, welfare services. What is needed is a frank guaranty of a minimum of well-being for *every* individual, not alone for one-fifth at the bottom of the scale. Such a guaranteed minimum would include:

First, the assurance of the right to earn a living—education and training for a job and the opportunity of a job; and to accomplish this, we must use our government, without fear or favor, to keep our economy healthy so that there will be jobs for all, rather than a series of booms and busts.

Second, the assurance that every man, woman, or child who cannot work and is without wages because of age, illness, disability, widowhood, or orphanhood will have built up with his government rights to income enough for his subsistence.

Third, the assurance of essential services for decent living in an industrial community, such as day-care nurseries, recreation facilities, guidance clinics, and particularly medical care and low-cost housing.

Others may brand such a proposal as the "welfare state" and thus condemn it. But the irresistible trend of events makes the provision of some such guaranteed minimum of well-being inevitable. Re-count those trends for a moment: Each year more and more Americans, already a majority, live in big cities; there they work as employees—and depend for their security on wages; their security rests squarely on their continued ability to pay in cash for rent, food, clothes, doctors' bills, and a myriad of other needs; from the cash wages that they earn, the lower-income half of American families are able to save, on the average, little or nothing; if these families have no savings to turn to in adversity, neither do they have parents, children, or relatives, in many instances, to whom they can turn for security; yet Americans who live in cities and work for wages are more vulnerable to the hazards of unemployment, sickness, old age, and death; and, without savings or family as a source of security, they have nowhere to turn but to their government—to the "welfare state."

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LABOR'S DRIVE FOR SECURITY¹

KERMIT EBY

It is difficult to understand the interest of the average worker in security—the kind of security that organized labor is asking for and striking for—unless you remember that at every union meeting a ghost is present. It is the ghost of unemployment which haunted the lives of eighteen million Americans in the early thirties and of nine million Americans as recently as 1939.

This ghost is the uninvited guest at every union meeting; it will haunt these men and women as long as they live, for unemployment was one of the most significant experiences of their lives. Today I never sit down at a CIO banquet table, where labor leaders are celebrating their newly won freedom, without recalling the days when these same men stood in bread lines. Believe me, they, too, recall those days.

When I am asked what the most revolutionary factor in America's recent history has been, I always reply that it was the wartime experience of full employment from 1939 to the present. Almost all Americans able and willing to work have been given the opportunity to earn a living, and at better wages than they have ever enjoyed before. During this decade—which includes our preparation for war, the war itself, and its aftermath—the American worker has had both guns and butter. He has made up his mind never to give up the butter.

Before 1939 a southern textile worker could be immediately identified by the

clothes he wore and the food he ate. Today he is not so easily recognized; for the typical blue jeans and cotton shirt have been supplemented by a Sunday suit and the beans and sowbelly have almost disappeared from his supper table. Now the worker can buy fresh vegetables and meat—even an occasional steak. Who can blame him for enjoying his change in fare? We statistically minded people sometimes forget that wartime food shortages were caused not only by heavy buying by the armed services but also by the better diet which, *for the first time*, millions of Americans could afford.

But the textile worker and his brothers and sisters in other American industries live constantly with the fear that the meat, and even the beans and sowbelly, might suddenly vanish from their tables. During the most abundant days of the war there was the fear of sickness, old age, death, and the sudden end of war-made employment; for the fact is that our government security program has proved to be pathetically inadequate for even the most basic needs. Living costs have doubled since the program went into effect a decade ago, while the benefits were meager at the start. Poor relief is still a specter at the door of the American workingman.

I shall never forget the day I was invited to speak at Parkersburg, West Virginia, on Labor Day, toward the end of the war. The celebration, as usual, was held in a park with all its many distractions of merry-go-rounds, Ferris wheels, and shooting galleries. The chairman of the day was concerned about gathering

¹ A paper read at the Fifty-fourth Conference, Illinois Welfare Association, Peoria, Illinois, October 30, 1949.

an audience for the visiting fireman, and I, too, was afraid that I might have made the trip for nothing. Then I hit upon a plan that might win me my audience.

It happened that the Army had brought two General Sherman tanks into the park, and I discovered that at exactly two o'clock they would be run over some trees in the center of the park to demonstrate their power. It was the kind of demonstration that would, of course, collect a sizable crowd. I made my arrangements with the Army and waited for my cue.

The affair went off as scheduled, and the minute it was over I scrambled to the top of the nearest tank. There was a wonderful audience below me; if I could hold it, it was mine. From the top of the gigantic machine I thought of my pacifist ancestors and groped for a text. Then I remembered the magnificent quotation of Howard Vincent O'Brien in his *Chicago Daily News* column in which he said that the problem of the twentieth century was very simple: "We can make gun carriages—we can also make baby carriages." I paraphrased the quotation, saying, "Brothers and Sisters, we can make tanks and we can make baby carriages, and houses, and all the other things you need, once the war is over."

Looking into the faces around me, I saw that these words had caught the imagination of my audience. These people wanted desperately to know how they could get baby carriages and houses when the war was over. From there on in, they were mine to educate.

Another of my vivid memories of the war period is of a CIO summer-school session at Antioch College. It was VJ-Day, and also payday for the eight thousand workers at the near-by Curtiss-Wright aircraft plant in Columbus. The workers had received their pay checks

along with a little note of congratulations for the contribution they had made to the war effort. The note ended with the cryptic message that they need not return to work on Monday.

Now the workers were glad that the war was over, but they felt little comfort in their renewed membership in the ranks of the unemployed. A union meeting was called immediately, and I was invited to offer a few words of wisdom. After all, wasn't I their research and educational director? Wasn't that why they paid their dues? Then I must tell them what to do in this crisis.

Since no meeting hall could be found to hold all eight thousand of the workers, only union stewards—the workers' representatives—were invited to attend. They were in their seats one full hour before the meeting was called. It was just as though Gabriel had blown his horn and the world was called up for judgment.

I opened the meeting by telling the stewards that the CIO was interested in their welfare, the country was interested in their welfare—in short, that practically everyone was interested in their welfare. But all these generalizations did not interest the stewards. They simply wanted to know what they were going to do after Monday. As an experienced "soapboxer," I began to realize that my address was a failure, when I remembered the admonition of Northwestern University's Dean Leon Green in the July, 1936, issue of the *New Republic*. The Dean believed that the problem of our time was to give the same protection to job rights in America as we did to property rights.

I paraphrased Dean Green's remarks and added that it really made no difference who owned the newly idle aircraft plant; that it should not concern us whether it was privately, publicly, or co-operatively owned. The vital question

should be, "Is it operating, and are the men and women in it earning living wages?"

The audience of shop stewards sat up and applauded. And as I went on, I realized that I had made an obvious but profound discovery—that workers were not so concerned with the problem of ownership as they were with their jobs and the size of their pay checks. This is the dynamic which underlies every political election, and I believe that it is just as true around the world as it is here in the United States; that it sets in motion revolutionary changes in the very nature of our political economy.

This revolution has taken various forms. In Soviet Russia it is the dictatorship of the proletariat; in Britain it is the Labour government, and in America it is the strong swing toward the welfare state. If you have any doubts as to how far this revolution has gone, let me remind you that William Green, at the last AF of L convention, said without reservation, "The American Federation of Labor is supporting the Welfare State."

To continue the interpretation of this inner dynamic which motivates American labor, I would like to recount the experience that some of my students and I had when we heard Philip Murray speak to the steelworkers at Gary, Indiana, during the recent steel strike. The audience was subdued. Perhaps this was because it was a "supported" strike rather than a really positive emotional crusade. I recall the spectacular array of officeholders on the platform—the sheriff, the mayor, the police, and judges who had, not so long ago, been anathema to labor for their frequent injunctions. A telegram arrived from the governor of Indiana, wishing the steelworkers success with their strike. The workers knew, too, that the President was in their corner.

But they also knew that they were out on strike and were earning no money. They wondered why this was so when the political powers-that-be supported them. These men and women were fighting for the rights which they believed were theirs, just as much as they were those of more privileged Americans. They, too, were part of that American public which reads the slick magazines, listens to the smooth insurance commercials over the radio—the commercials which tell them that security is the American dream. They, too, are advised to retire while still in the prime of life and are reminded that health and leisure, the good life (including trips to Florida), and the best education for their children can be obtained by simply filling out a card which entitles them to membership in an insurance agent's utopia. Steelworkers, like their fellow-Americans, believe that they are inheritors of the American dream.

At the strike meeting in Gary the steelworkers listened quietly to their president, but twice during his speech Murray brought them forward in their seats, tense with emotion. Pointing out that industry always provides for the depreciation of plant and equipment in its budget, he said: "If industry can provide for these inanimate objects, it can also provide for the men and women created in the image of God, who are more precious than machines." And, describing the salary and pensions of the top brass in the steel industry—of the privileged few who receive \$25,000 to \$100,000 a year in salary and equal amounts in *noncontributory* pensions, Murray cried: "I would like to ask Mr. Grace of Bethlehem Steel, 'Does Socialism begin at \$50,000?'"

I have tried to describe the upward thrust of history and the desires of the workers anticipated and expressed by every good union leader. I believe that

these illustrations I have given, which grow out of the lives and experiences of American workers, are of greater significance than statistics in portraying the feelings and desires of these men and women who, along with the unorganized workers and the white-collar workers, hold the political destiny of America in their hands. But union leaders must not only anticipate—they must truly lead. In the past they have led the demand for wage increases when the cost of living soared. Rank-and-filers were grateful for these increases, but they found them dissipated in increasing prices. They also found their savings disappearing. And so they turned to something else—to long-term security programs, old age pensions, and health and welfare provisions to take care of the emergencies of sickness and accident.

During the six years I was with the CIO, we fought for a long-range security program. We published pamphlets on social security; we ran institutes and educational programs advocating governmental programs for social security; and we placed particular emphasis on an annual wage. (This concept of the annual wage is one which is near and dear to the heart of Philip Murray, who used to say that, since men and women have the peculiar habit of eating three meals a day for 365 days a year, they need shelter and clothing for the same period of time.) We studied many annual wage experiments in union contract agreements, and we investigated the annual wage project at the Hormel Company in Austin, Minnesota. Then Murray interested the President in the idea of a national study of annual wage plans. A commission was set up, and the study began under the direction of Murray Latimer, a pension and retirement expert who later became the Steelworkers' director of research in pensions.

Now, while all of us believed that our research in pensions, security, annual wage, etc., would eventually result in concrete programs, none of us believed that history would catch up with us as soon as it did or that the workers would become as vitally interested in such programs so soon. But they realized that these programs were the only answer to the problems of sickness and old age—to the illusory wage increases which added nothing to their savings accounts.

Ever since the industrial worker has organized, he has experienced a friendly political administration in Washington. The famous section 7A of the National Recovery Act and then the Wagner Act had as their underlying assumptions the belief that unions should be encouraged so that they could bargain collectively for wages, thus increasing purchasing power, which, in turn, would benefit the entire economy. The late Sidney Hillman, creator of the CIO's Political Action Committee, used to say that there was always a third person present around the bargaining table, and that person was the government—a third party which should be friendly to labor rather than to big business. To Mr. Hillman and to other leaders of the CIO, the implication was clear. Labor was in politics to stay, because workers' social security, health legislation, minimum-wage laws, and so on were all dependent on government action.

But, as we have seen, government action must be forced by action outside the government. We have seen, too, how hollow a victory can be. In the case of federal insurance, for example, we find that in Michigan—one of our most heavily industrialized states, which means that it provides broader coverage under the federal insurance system than many other states do—more than 20 per cent of per-

sons over sixty-five depend on public relief for security in their old age. And public relief is just another name for charity. In Detroit 26 per cent of the population over sixty-five is receiving this charity.²

Yes, labor is in politics to stay; but until labor, along with other progressive groups interested in the welfare of the working people, can get a satisfactory governmental program of security, it will continue to use collective bargaining as the means to its end. We have seen this happen over and over again. Worker security programs are not so new as most people think. Management and labor have been struggling with the problem of insecurity since 1865, when the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers won a death and accident benefit plan. Commercial insurance carriers would not underwrite the risk of death or accident for railway men, so the union took their problem to the bargaining table—and won. From that day to this, employee benefit plans of one sort or another have been established by unions, by management, and by management and unions together. The solution, however, has generally been the employer's.

Looking backward, we can see the gradual change in union demands in these plans; from a simple concern with death benefits, they have evolved into programs covering hospitalization and medical care—and pensions. According to the Department of Labor, more than three million—perhaps nearly four million—workers, or over twice the number as in early 1947, were covered by some type of health, welfare, and/or retirement-benefit plan by midyear, 1948, under collective bargaining agreements. And health and welfare programs under collective bargaining have been in effect only since the late twenties. This is a big

² Speech by Harry Becker, United Auto Workers.

step! Yet most of this change has come about since the beginning of the second World War, which gave a tremendous stimulus to the growth of security plans.

And so today we see what once were "fringe issues" of collective bargaining become the primary issues. The American labor movement has won butter, meat, and a Sunday suit for its workers, and now it is driving for the security of knowing that they will have some of these things when they are too old to work and when they are sick. Security and welfare clauses have replaced wages and hours as the vital concern of collective bargaining negotiations. Workers are demanding of their union leadership that a way be found, consistent with a free and democratic society, to assure them protection from starvation or charity. They believe that security in old age and in sickness is an obligation not only to themselves but to the family, the community, and the nation. To me this concern reflects our workers' maturity and social responsibility.

The educational and political aims of the American labor movement have worked on the profound belief that something must be done about workers who are "too old to work and too young to die," and they have found that men and events were meeting in history much sooner than they had expected. The drive for pensions was the central theme this year in collective bargaining, and I venture to guess that, before another year is over, the major American industries will have signed contracts which will include provisions for pensions and other welfare needs. As Henry Becker, director of the Social Security Program of the United Auto Workers, has said: "... the road we are travelling leads directly to recognition of the needs and rights of people to a basic security, in order that man

may not feel himself alone facing an indifferent, a hostile and an overpowering world."

I have been asked, and expect to be asked many times again, whether or not this drive for security provisions in union contracts means that the unions are not going to exert any more pressure for government action in the same field. My answer is unqualifiedly "No!" Rather, I believe that, if anything, it is going to mean increased political pressure for health, welfare, and social security legislation; for I believe that one of the underlying reasons for concentrating on these issues in the recent collective bargaining negotiations is the encouragement of industrial leaders, in turn, to cease their

opposition to governmental programs in this field. A really comprehensive social security program can be achieved only through the government.

Labor is on the march, more determined than ever before. It is going to be more and more interested in welfare programs—national, state, and local. Workingmen and women want, more than ever, to take their place in responsible positions. You who are wise will encourage this evolution, for you and they have the same aspirations for the American people, including the realization in fact, rather than in theory, of the Fourth Freedom—the freedom from want which must be accepted as a matter of right.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE PRISON-LABOR PROBLEM IN THE STATES. I. THE AFTERMATH OF FEDERAL RESTRICTIONS¹

FRANK T. FLYNN

THE problem of employing prisoners usefully in accordance with accepted standards of productive efficiency is one of the most difficult and challenging of the unsolved problems facing the states. Hemmed in by a mass of restrictions, the state correctional systems have blundered along for the last two decades with prison-labor programs that are feeble and futile imitations of normal productive activities.

Restrictions imposed by the states have seriously handicapped prison industries, but the most limiting restrictions were those resulting from a series of prison-labor acts passed by Congress during the period 1929-40, which had the effect of curtailing drastically the market for prison-made goods. The bleak outlook was made even worse because many of the states did not recognize the implications of federal restrictions and for various reasons failed to reorganize their correctional programs. There was a brief flurry of activity from 1942 to 1945, when the prisons obtained Army and Navy contracts.² But the end of World War II brought the cancellation of contracts, and the state prison employment programs returned to their previous con-

dition, in which idleness, not very well disguised, was the chief feature.

THE BACKGROUND OF FEDERAL RESTRICTIONS

Although this article deals mainly with what happened after the enactment of federal restrictive laws, a brief review of the movement toward federal restrictions provides a useful background for the discussion of later developments. The prison-labor controversy began as a phase of the industrial revolution which swept the country in the early part of the nineteenth century. The establishment of the prison factory at Auburn, New York, in 1824, coupled with the appearance of the prison contractor on the scene, changed the competitive status of prison labor. The New York prison and its counterpart at Wethersfield, Connecticut, were financially successful from the start; and the Auburn plan, with the factory as its core and self-support as its goal, was widely copied. Under the handicraft system, prison labor competed in the local markets; but, with the development of prison factories, the products of prison labor moved into state, regional, and national markets. There they encountered opposition from affected manufacturers, merchandisers, and workers—all of whom complained about the "unfair" competition from prison labor.³

¹ This is the first of two articles dealing with the federal government and the prison-labor problem in the states. The second, which discusses the work of the Prison Industries Reorganization Administration, will appear in the June, 1950, issue of the *Review*.

² For a description of the wartime situation see H. E. Barnes, *Prisons in Wartime* (Washington, D.C.: War Production Board, 1944). Two other useful sources of information are: U.S. War Production Board, *State Prison Industries* (Washington, D.C., 1942), and *Prisons in Wartime* (1943).

³ For a scholarly account of the history of prison labor see Blake McKelvey, *American Prisons: A Study in American Social History Prior to 1915* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936), pp. 93-125 and *passim*.

The contractor became the stereotyped target for the attacks on productive prison labor. Usually he paid the state about half the going wage for the labor of prisoners, and the state provided a rent-free factory, without payment for heat, light, and power. With these cost advantages, the prison contractor's products unquestionably could come to the markets at prices lower than those of his competitors.

Although every system of employing prisoners productively has been under attack at one time or another, the main fight was against the systems that brought prison products into the open market. This "unfair" competition was charged with disrupting market conditions, depressing wages, and forcing "honest" enterprises into bankruptcy.⁴

The vigorous protests of those who were affected in one way or another by prison competition resulted in a variety of restrictive laws passed by state legislatures.⁵ These curtailed prison production

in some respects, but such laws did not apply to prison goods shipped in interstate commerce. This was recognized even before decisions to that effect by the Supreme Court of Ohio⁶ and the New York Court of Appeals⁷ in the 1890's pointed to the need for federal action. As early as 1888 the first significant prison-labor bill was introduced in the House by Representative John J. O'Neill, of Missouri, at the request of a group of manufacturers. The bill (H.R. 8716), which was supported by labor, passed the House⁸ but, like its numerous successors during the next forty years, failed to pass the Senate.⁹ The pressure was continued as so-called "reform" groups brought their weight to bear on the side of restrictions, and finally the combined forces were victorious in the struggle that had lasted over a century.¹⁰

President Herbert Clark Hoover on January 19, 1929, signed the Hawes-Cooper bill, the first of three important federal prison labor acts. This bill, which was to take effect five years later, divested prison-made goods of their interstate character and made them subject to the laws of the several states. It was followed by an enforcement law, the Ashurst-Sumners Act of July 24, 1935, which prohibited the transportation of prison-made goods into states which barred them and required labeling of prison-made goods when shipped in interstate commerce. Fortified by unani-

⁴ Historically, there have been four open-market systems: (1) *Lease*—the state relinquished responsibility for the care and custody of prisoners and received a stipulated sum for their labor. The most vulnerable of all systems, it finally succumbed to public indignation in the 1920's. (2) *Contract*—the state retained the prisoners but sold their labor for a specified daily sum for each prisoner employed. Constantly under attack, this system was eliminated finally by federal restrictions. (3) *Piece-price*—a variation of the contract system, which met a similar fate. The entrepreneur usually furnished the raw materials and paid the state a stipulated amount for each unit of finished product. (4) *State account*—the state went into the business of manufacturing, purchased the raw materials, sold the finished product, and assumed all financial risks. Hampered by a restricted market, this system still functions here and there but has lost ground steadily.

⁵ For a brief account of the development of restrictions see U.S. Department of Justice, *The Attorney General's Survey of Release Procedures*, Vol. V: *Prisons* (Leavenworth: Federal Prison Industries, Inc., Press, 1940), pp. 27-34. This study was edited by Howard B. Gill, whose penetrating and logical interpretations of many phases of the prison-labor question are founded upon extensive experience.

⁶ *Arnold v. Vanders*, 56 Ohio 421-22 (1897).

⁷ *People v. Hawkins*, 157 N.Y. 1 (1898).

⁸ *Congressional Record*, XIX (May 22, 1888), 4533. The bill passed by a four-to-one margin.

⁹ The senators from many contract states fought a delaying action at the request of governors and prison boards.

¹⁰ For an interesting historical analysis of the prison-labor problem see Harry Elmer Barnes and Negley K. Teeters, *New Horizons in Criminology* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1946), chap. xxviii, "The History and Significance of Prison Labor."

mous U.S. Supreme Court decisions upholding the two acts," Congress passed the Act of October 14, 1940, which virtually prohibited interstate transportation of prison products, with the chief exception of agricultural commodities.¹²

With the passage of the Hawes-Cooper Act, the end of the prison-labor controversy was in sight, but the vexing problem of employment of prisoners remained. Everybody agreed that prisoners should work, but the fact was that idleness became the outstanding characteristic of the state prisons in the 1930's. Industries producing for the open market were eliminated, and the states were forced to turn to the two systems of prison labor, producing for the so-called "sheltered market"—state use and public works and ways. The state-use system, long acclaimed by proponents of restrictive legislation as the solution to the prison-labor problem, is broadly defined as the production of goods and the rendering of services for the institutions, departments, and agencies of the states and their political subdivisions.¹³ Public

works and ways, which is similar to state use, employs prison labor in construction and repair work, improving roads, reforestation, soil-erosion control, and the like. These plans failed to provide adequate employment for prisoners, and this failure emphasized the success of the federal restrictive legislation, which gave, for the time being, a negative answer to Louis N. Robinson's query: "Should prisoners work?"¹⁴

Any attempt to measure the results of the legislation restricting prison competition should ideally go beyond the effects intended by the acts and consider their impact on prison programs and the consequent effects upon prisoners. Unfortunately, available data do not make such measurements possible. Numerous studies of prison conditions, varied in method and scope, were made subsequent to the passage of the first federal restrictive law. While they provide a considerable amount of information on prison employment, the data are insufficient to permit presentation of either the chronological development of the problem or a state-by-state analysis.

Nevertheless, some of the changes that took place may be observed, and some of the results that stemmed from these changes may be discussed. In dealing with these questions, it is important to recognize not only the inherent weaknesses of the statistical data but also the difficulties in isolating the specific contribution of restrictive legislation toward the prison idleness of the 1930's—a condition that was really the product of a great complex of factors. Important among these were the impact of the depression, the increase in prison popula-

¹² *Whitfield v. Ohio*, 297 U.S. 431-41 (1936); and *Kentucky Whip and Collar Company v. Illinois Central Railroad Company*, 299 U.S. 334 (1937). Because of its relatively liberal interpretation of the Constitution at a time when the Supreme Court was "strained almost to the breaking point against New Deal legislation," *Kentucky Whip and Collar* has interesting implications (see Edward H. Levi, *An Introduction to Legal Reasoning* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949], pp. 67-68).

¹³ This act also exempted goods produced for states and their political subdivisions.

¹⁴ The definition given here is not agreed to by all state-use advocates, but it is implicit in the latest definition given by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, which states that the "use or sale of the product is limited to the same institution or to some other State or Federal institution or department" (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Prison Labor in the United States: 1940* [Washington, D.C., 1941], p. 3). This definition broadens the concept advanced in 1932, which did not include the term "department" (see *Prison Labor in the United States: 1932* [Washington, D.C., 1933], p. 4).

¹⁴ *Should Prisoners Work?* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston Co., 1931). Robinson's book is an excellent analysis of the economic aspects of the prison-labor problem, and it is regarded as the most authoritative study in this field.

tions, and the failure of the prisons to adjust their programs to the changing framework of prison employment.

EARLY EFFECTS OF THE HAWES-COOPER ACT

Although the cumulative effects of federal restrictive legislation will be considered, it seems desirable, first, to discuss briefly some of the immediate effects of the passage of the Hawes-Cooper Act, as well as the reactions of prison administrators to the act. Because the constitutionality of the act could not be tested until after its effective date in 1934¹⁵ and many questioned its constitutionality,¹⁶ it is obvious that the total effects of the act would not be registered at once. While the question of whether increased idleness was an immediate effect of the act is a debatable one, two immediate and closely related effects may be observed: (1) the passage of restrictive legislation in many states and (2) the consequent reduction of the future market for contract prison goods.

The Hawes-Cooper Act was an enabling law which made it possible for the states to enact legislation prohibiting the sale of the prison products of other states, and, prodded by labor interests, they responded quickly. By July, 1933, twenty-one states had passed new legislation, barring or otherwise restricting open-market

sales of prison goods. As would be expected, the states with exclusive state-use systems were first. By 1931 three state-use states—New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania—had passed restrictive legislation; two states—Illinois and Maine—were added in 1931; one other—Massachusetts—acted in 1932; and fifteen more passed laws in 1933—Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Montana, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Ohio, South Dakota, Utah, Virginia, and Washington.¹⁷

This fairly rapid adoption of restrictive laws by the states did not come about by accident. Since the Hawes-Cooper Act would be ineffective without action by the states, the American Federation of Labor campaigned for the enactment of a "model law," which would eliminate both open-market and state-use sales of prison-made goods of other states. The "model" read:

After January 19, 1934, no goods, wares, or merchandise manufactured or mined by convicts or prisoners of other states, except convicts or prisoners on parole or probation, shall be shipped into this state to be sold on the open market, or sold to, or exchanged with, an institution of this state or with any of its political divisions.¹⁸

New Jersey adopted the proposed law almost verbatim in 1931, and the legislation of New York, Ohio, Washington, and other states reflected the phraseology of the "model," although numerous states dropped its state-use prohibition.¹⁹

The growing impact of the depression unquestionably contributed to the pas-

¹⁵ The decision of the Supreme Court was not handed down until March 2, 1936.

¹⁶ The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics reported: "The penal authorities of some States have already questioned the constitutionality of the Federal convict labor law. Some of the states have contended that since large sums of money have been invested in equipment, plants, etc., that to deprive the various penal institutions of an outlet for their products would be equivalent to taking away their property without due process of law, and therefore illegal under the Federal Constitution" (see U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Laws Relating to Prison Labor in the United States as of July 1, 1933* [Bull. No. 596 (Washington, D.C., 1933)], p. 5).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 135-46. Ohio also had an exclusive state-use system before the Hawes-Cooper Act was passed.

¹⁸ American Federation of Labor, *Convict Labor: Model Amendments To Solve Prison Labor Competition*, p. 7, cited by Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

¹⁹ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Laws Relating to Prison Labor in the United States as of July 1, 1933*, pp. 135-46.

sage of restrictive legislation, since the argument that prisoners should not work while "honest men walked the streets" naturally would have a great deal of weight with legislators. Sanford Bates, formerly director of the United States Bureau of Prisons, succinctly describes this situation:

Many people see the issue of prison labor from a comparative viewpoint. They feel that, after all, the virtuous must have some preference over the sinful, and that, if there is not enough work for both, they must regretfully consign at least that limited portion of the sinful who become inmates of our penal institutions to the limbo of idleness and disintegration.²⁰

The effect of these restrictive state laws was to remove such states from the market open to prison-made goods when the laws became effective in 1934. Only the seventeen states which produced the bulk of all prison products sold outside the state of manufacture would be affected directly,²¹ but the contractors' future market was no longer national in scope.²² The concentration of the contract production in garments, shoes, furniture, and brooms was unquestionably doomed,²³ and the effects on the prison garment industry were bound to be espe-

cially drastic. Garment-making represented nearly half the value of all prison open-market production in 1923, with 80 per cent being sold outside the states of manufacture. Restrictions would force some readjustments in the market, which would affect ultimately the garment contracts in the prisons of at least thirteen states.²⁴

As a result of the impending market shrinkage, some signs of difficulty with contractors began to appear at once. Describing the early effects of the Hawes-Cooper Act in 1931, Robinson cited excerpts from the official reports of state prisons or prison boards of six states—Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, South Carolina, and Wyoming—registering varying degrees of difficulty with contractors because of the act.²⁵ The 1932 Bureau of Labor Statistics report contains numerous excerpts from statements and comments made by state prison officials which referred to the increasing idleness in prisons. Many attributed this to the Hawes-Cooper Act, and predictions were freely made that the act would result in widespread prison unemployment.²⁶

Despite the testimony that prison idleness was increasing, there is no valid evidence to show that the act was mainly responsible. Unfortunately, available data do not permit meaningful comparisons of the situation before and after passage of the act. National data are available for 1923 and 1932, but they present an inconclusive picture. The state prison population increased from about 79,000

²⁰ Sanford Bates, *Prisons and Beyond* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1936), p. 91.

²¹ Howard B. Gill, "The Prison Labor Problem," in *Prisons of Tomorrow, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CLVII (1931), 91. The states were Connecticut, Delaware, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Nebraska, New Hampshire, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

²² The states passing such laws by 1933 even included five so-called "contract states"—Indiana, Iowa, Maine, New Hampshire, and Virginia.

²³ But, as Gill pointed out, it was quite possible that a small number of large contractors operating in the national markets would be replaced by a large number of small contractors operating in state markets (*op. cit.*, p. 92). This did not happen, however.

²⁴ *Ibid.* The states were Connecticut, Delaware, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Maryland, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wyoming.

²⁵ Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-17.

²⁶ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Prison Labor in the United States: 1932*, pp. 213-16.

in 1923 to 145,000 in 1932, about 84 per cent. While the proportion of prisoners productively employed in state prisons declined from 61 per cent in 1923 to 53 per cent in 1932, the number of prisoners productively employed actually increased from about 48,000 to 77,000. There is no evidence that the increase noted reflected a consistent trend during the period 1923-32. It is possible, of course, that prison employment increased sharply until 1929, when the act was passed, and then dropped off rapidly; but this cannot be determined.

Available data allowing comparisons between 1923 and 1932 appear to show that even the piece-price and contract systems, the main targets of restrictive legislation, held their ground fairly well. Although the value of production under these two systems together dropped from 40 per cent of the value of all prison production in 1923 to 22 per cent in 1932, these open-market systems still employed 16 per cent of all prisoners productively employed in 1932, as compared with 19 per cent in 1923. Actually, the number of prisoners employed in these systems increased from about 9,600 to slightly more than 13,400 prisoners.²⁷ But this increase is probably more apparent than real.

The increase in piece-price and contract employment, as well as the increase in prisoners productively employed in state prisons—from 48,000 in 1923 to 77,000 in 1932—may be explained in large part by the common practice of overmanning prison industries. It is clear that the term "productively employed"

must be used with great caution. As the *Attorney General's Survey of Release Procedures* aptly puts it: "few wardens have the hardihood to maintain an idle house."²⁸

According to James V. Bennett, then assistant director of the United States Bureau of Prisons, "sufficient work was provided for prisoners during 1932 to occupy fully only about 20,000 prisoners, or approximately 15 per cent of the inmates of the penitentiaries."²⁹ He referred to the "tremendous amount of overmanning of such industrial opportunities as existed in the prison" and to the fact that "the prisoners were employed at antiquated machinery and by archaic methods." Unquestionably, overmanning accounted for the increased number of prisoners employed in 1932, as compared with 1923. Assignments to clothing industries in state prisons nearly doubled between 1923 and 1932—from 10,000 to 19,000 prisoners—but value of production, when 1932 values are converted to 1923 values, remained about the same.³⁰ The shift in prison-labor systems had an important bearing on this development. The increase in employment in the prison garment industry is plausible when this shift is considered. The proportion of prisoners employed in the piece-price system, in which the contractor paid on a unit-of-product basis, increased from 7 per cent of all prisoners productively employed in 1923 to 11 per cent in 1932. During the same period employment in the contract system, in which the contractor paid the state a specified amount per day for each employed prisoner,

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 6. See also U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Prison Labor in the United States: 1940*, pp. 5-8. The data used here refer to state and federal prisons together rather than to state prisons only. If the data were available for state prison production only, the percentages given here would be raised slightly.

²⁸ U.S. Department of Justice, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

²⁹ "Prison Labor at the Crossroads," *Proceedings of the American Prison Association, 1934* (New York: The Association, 1934), p. 242.

³⁰ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Prison Labor in the United States: 1932*, pp. 213-16.

dropped from 12 per cent of prisoners productively employed to 5 per cent. Under the piece-price system, it cost the contractors nothing if twice the number of workers needed were assigned to the shops; under the contract system they would be required to pay for each man assigned.

While prison administrators almost without exception condemned the Hawes-Cooper Act and blamed it unequivocally for the increasing prison idleness, the members of the American Prison Association were divided on the question. A resolution which requested that Congress repeal the Hawes-Cooper Act, previously adopted by the Wardens' Association, was introduced at the annual business meeting of the Prison Association on September 24, 1929. The resolution expressed opposition "to any and all state and federal legislation that would directly or indirectly interfere with the production, manufacture, transportation or sale of products of penal institutions" and stated that such legislation was "unnecessary, unwise, and unfair to the taxpayers, penal institutions and their inmates." Although the discussion that ensued after the introduction of the resolution was not reproduced in the *Proceedings*, the editor's comment is interesting. He stated:

The animated character of the discussion left no doubt as to the sentiments of the proponents and opponents of the resolution. The sentiments of its proponents were substantially the same as those set forth in the resolution. The opponents held in the main that Congress had given careful consideration to the Hawes-Cooper Bill prior to its passage; that all interested persons had opportunity to be heard, and that finally Congress had recorded its decision by the passage of the Bill, to become effective in 1934. That, therefore, any resolution or protest was untimely and its value highly questionable.

The resolution carried by a standing vote, 58 to 20.³¹

Another dissent was registered by the so-called "Wickersham Commission" in a report, which was criticized severely by many prison administrators. In its "Conclusions and Recommendations," the commission said this about the situation in 1931:

Though we recognize the difficulties of transition to a new system of prison industry we commend the Congress of the United States for the passage of the Hawes-Cooper bill and consider the agitation for its repeal as ill-advised and contrary to the public interest. The contract system is essentially iniquitous and its disappearance from our prisons is most earnestly to be desired. The prison will serve the State best if it surrenders the idea of profit-making and turns its attention and energy to the less arduous task of discovering means of becoming economically self-sufficient. In so far as the prison has to employ labor for other than local consumption we recommend the "State use" system and the employment of prison labor on public works as most advantageous to the State and least injurious to outside capital and labor.³²

The report of the commission's Advisory Committee, which was composed of many of the foremost penologists and prison administrators in the United States, adopted a more restrained view. After remarking, "We share neither the deep pessimism nor the high optimism of those who have the strongest convictions on the measure," the report, written by Winthrop D. Lane as secretary, stated:

In other words, it seems quite likely that under the Hawes-Cooper Act the State-use plan will be put to a severe test. This will call for ingenuity, careful planning, and determination to keep prison industries on a satisfactory basis. Our own opinion is that most States, if

³¹ *Proceedings of the American Prison Association*, 1929, p. 289.

³² U.S. National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, *Report on Penal Institutions, Probation and Parole* (Pub. No. 9 [Washington, D.C., 1931]), p. 171.

they show the proper initiative, can make a success of that plan, and by success, we mean not financial return from prison industries, but a full day's employment for all prisoners able to work, diversified occupations and reasonable vocational education.³³

This was a pertinent warning to the states, but it was largely ignored.

That the effects, psychological and otherwise, of the passage of the Hawes-Cooper Act alone caused immediate and widespread unemployment of prisoners seems doubtful from the evidence available. Presumably there was a tendency to blame the act for the evils that rightly should be charged to the depression and the increased prison population. Nevertheless, before the act became effective, twenty states had enacted restrictive laws, and it was clear that the contract and piece-price industries would be curtailed further when the act went into effect. The affected states, burdened by the increasing prison populations, the demands of the depression, and falling revenues, were faced with the problem of revising their prison systems. A few did so; the great majority did not.

OPEN-MARKET COMPETITION ENDED

The cumulative impact of the actual imposition of restrictions when the Hawes-Cooper Act became effective in January, 1934, and the passage of the Ashurst-Sumners Act in July, 1935, practically drove prison-made goods from the market.

The first comprehensive national data suitable for comparisons were the findings of the 1940 United States Bureau of Labor Statistics study, which showed that (1) the percentage of prisoners productively employed was decreasing; (2) the contract and piece-price systems had practically disappeared; (3) open-market

sales of prison-made goods involving interstate transportation were relatively unimportant, with the single exception of binder twine produced under state account; and (4) thirty-six states produced no goods that went into markets outside the state of manufacture.³⁴

During 1940 the average number of prisoners daily under sentence in state prisons was 173,284, of whom 76,775, or about 44 per cent, were regarded as productively employed. This compares with a state prison population of about 145,000 in 1932 with about 77,000, or 53 per cent, productively employed.³⁵ Of those employed in 1940, about 10,000 were employed on state account, only 300 on piece-price, and none on contract, as compared with roughly 15,000 on state account, 9,000 on piece-price, and 4,000 on contract in 1932.³⁶ In 1940 twelve states produced goods for the nonstate-use market, valued at slightly more than \$9,000,000—but only about \$2,300,000, slightly over one-fourth, was sold outside the state of manufacture, as compared with about two-thirds in 1932.³⁷ Even this amount is an overstatement, since more than \$800,000 was for goods

³⁴ These findings are all the more impressive when it is recalled that they preceded the passage of the prohibitory Act of October 14, 1940, which did not become effective until a year later.

³⁵ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Prison Labor in the United States: 1940*, p. 8. The situation varied greatly from state to state, of course; Kentucky prisoners increased from 3,575 in 1932 to 4,731 in 1940, while the prisoners productively employed dropped from 2,407 in 1932 to 442 in 1940, representing a reduction from 67 per cent productively employed to 9 per cent. Alabama, on the other hand, met an increase from 4,837 prisoners in 1932 to 6,940 in 1940 by increasing the number productively employed from 3,763 to 5,002 during the period, a slight reduction from 78 per cent productively employed to 72 per cent.

³⁶ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Prison Labor in the United States: 1932*, p. 10.

³⁷ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Prison Labor in the United States: 1940*, p. 27.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

shipped to South America by Alabama, so that the total of open-market sales in outside states was about \$1,500,000. Minnesota cordage and farm machinery, valued at more than \$800,000, accounted for more than half of this, and the balance was spread among ten other states, led by Michigan (binder twine, \$170,000), Missouri (shoes and rope, \$140,000), and Oregon (flax products, \$114,000).³⁸

The 1940 picture was a dismal one, but ample warning had been given. Almost immediately after the Hawes-Cooper Act became effective, the end of the contract system was in sight. By the autumn of 1934, according to James V. Bennett, the contractors had discontinued work in Alabama, Connecticut, Idaho, Nebraska, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Vermont, and Wyoming; and only five states retained contracts of any appreciable size—Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland, Oklahoma, and West Virginia.³⁹ Writing early in 1935, Bennett referred to the effects of the Hawes-Cooper Act in these words: "All the big distributors have refused to handle prison products, most of the prison contractors have walked out, and only in a few of the states is any real attempt made to market prison products to anyone except farmers who purchase the binder-twine made in mid-western prisons."⁴⁰

By 1937 a survey of state legislation by the Prison Industries Reorganization

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 27–28. The seven other states also producing goods sold outside the state of manufacture were Iowa, Kansas, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. Taken together, the value of goods produced by these states was under \$300,000.

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 246.

⁴⁰ James V. Bennett, "American Prisons—Houses of Idleness," *Survey*, LXXI, 99. It should be noted that the binder-twine interests were active proponents of the Act of October 14, 1940.

Administration⁴¹ showed that the market area had shrunk appreciably. A total of thirty-three states had some restrictive legislation; of these, twelve states prohibited open-market sales, and sixteen states prohibited such sales with minor exemptions.⁴² By 1940 the number of states with prohibitory legislation, frequently exempting certain state-account products, had risen to thirty-six, and four other states barred contracts.⁴³ As the attorney-general's study stated: "With the passage of these laws, the Industrial Prison was eliminated. In 1935, for the great majority of prisoners the penitentiary system had again reverted to its original status: punishment and custody."⁴⁴

EXTENSIVE IDLENESS IN THE PRISONS

There is no question that the end of the contracts meant that the prisoners employed on contract work would be out of employment, at least for the time being. In that sense the loss of the contracts meant idleness for those prisoners, but the loss of the contracts was something that presumably was foreseen. The testimony by prison interests during the Hawes-Cooper bill hearings in 1928 repeatedly emphasized the prediction that the passage of the bill would result in the

⁴¹ A federal agency, established by executive order of the President on September 26, 1935, to assist the states in the reorganization of their prison systems. This "orphan" agency, created under the President's power under the Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1935, will be discussed in a later article.

⁴² U.S. Prison Industries Reorganization Administration, *Chart and Comment on Laws Affecting the Labor of Prisoners and the Sale and Distribution of Prison-made Products in the United States* (Bull. No. 1 [Washington, D.C., n.d.]), chart following p. 8. Five of the states had discriminatory prohibitions which were unconstitutional, according to *Wisconsin v. Whitfield*, 216 Wisc. 577 (1935).

⁴³ U.S. Department of Justice, *op. cit.*, pp. 228–31.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

loss of contracts and increased idleness in the prisons. The loss of the contracts was inevitable, but that increased idleness necessarily had to follow is certainly open to question.

Referring to the discontinuance of contracts in Indiana and the closing of the shirt shop at the Indiana State Prison on June 30, 1937, the Prison Industries Reorganization Administration (PIRA) stated:

Thus, activities requiring the labor of about 550 men and producing sales of approximately \$480,000 last year have not been available during the fiscal year 1938. It is not possible to predict whether the cessation of these activities means that 500 to 600 men will be added to the idle list for a long period, since that will depend on the success of efforts to take up the added slack.⁴⁵

The PIRA, reporting on the 1936 abandonment of the pants contract at the Oklahoma prison, which placed "another 325 men on the idle lists," remarked: "This illustrates the great hazard of relying upon the operation of the contract system under present conditions."⁴⁶ As a matter of fact, the idle list was already a problem in Oklahoma. A Brookings Institution study in 1935 reported that the governor's budget committee in January, 1935, learned that 1,200 were idle on the day of the committee's visit, although the warden of the prison had stated that only 369 were idle.⁴⁷ The subject of prison idleness must be considered with this point in mind—the abolition of the contracts, which came as late as 1936 and 1937 in some states, need not have been

accompanied by a corresponding increase in idleness if less reliance had been placed upon the doomed contract system and if more attention had been paid to efforts "to take up the slack."

Only one national survey was made during the mid-thirties, when idleness was probably at its peak. The authoritative *Attorney General's Survey of Release Procedures* analyzed the 1935-36 situation in eighty-five prisons with a total population of 106,818. Using an allowance of 25 per cent of the prison population for maintenance duties, it was concluded that the number of productive jobs available, based upon production values, was 24,300. With 26,702 maintenance jobs available, the number of idle prisoners was estimated at 55,822, or more than half the prison population.⁴⁸

Informed observers made estimates of the extent of idleness that were equally depressing. In 1935, speaking before the Annual Congress of the American Prison Association, Howard B. Gill stated that the prison employment situation "had worsened greatly during the year" and added: "From the employment program

⁴⁵ U.S. Department of Justice, *op. cit.*, p. 53. The production value was the estimated value of all prison production, and this was divided by \$1,000 for manufactured products and \$300 for agriculture, mining, and quarrying to determine the number of "jobs available." Prison production had been slightly over \$1,500 per employed prisoner in 1923 and nearly \$1,000 in 1932, and the average annual output in private industry during 1935-36 was estimated at \$5,000. Although it is true that the values assumed are arbitrary, that the comparisons used here are subject to a wide margin of error, and that prison industry and private industry cannot be compared fairly, the low value of production per prison worker used as a base for the estimates probably reflects the situation fairly well and may even be an understatement of the amount of idleness. In fact, in one prison with an estimated 869 maintenance and productive jobs available under this standard, the population was 864, and it was said that in this prison with no idleness (theoretically), "most prisoners could finish their day's work . . . shortly after noon" (*ibid.*, p. 51).

⁴⁶ U.S. Prison Industries Reorganization Administration, *The Prison Labor Problem in Indiana* (Washington, D.C., 1938), p. 74. Incidentally, the Indiana State Prison was among the more successful institutions in "taking up the slack."

⁴⁷ *The Prison Labor Problems in Oklahoma* (1938), p. 13.

⁴⁸ Brookings Institution, *Organization and Administration of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City: Harlow Pub. Corp., 1935), p. 84.

which showed approximately 75,000 prisoners employed in 1932, we have come to the point where 10,000 employed would be a generous guess."⁴⁹ Two years later, using data prepared by Gill, Superintendent Harold E. Donnell of the Maryland prisons estimated that only 15,000 of the approximately 150,000 prisoners in state correctional institutions were employed in any worth-while industry, while about 75,000 were either completely idle or, as Donnell described it, "maybe a small number of them dawdling away their time at tasks where five or more men do work which could easily be accomplished without great effort."⁵⁰

Studies of prison-labor conditions in the states made by the PIRA during the period 1936-39 revealed an almost uniform picture of extensive idleness.⁵¹ Conditions were particularly bad in such states as Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri, which had long depended on the contract system. According to the PIRA, the number actually idle in Kentucky penal institutions increased from 642 on June 30, 1931, to 2,848 on June 30, 1935. During this same period the number of prisoners employed in contract work had dwindled from 2,325 in 1931 to 110 in 1935, and the only employment offset was the establishment of state-account industries employing 245 prisoners.⁵² The

⁴⁹ "The Future of Prison Employment," *Proceedings of the American Prison Association, 1935* (New York: 1935), p. 179.

⁵⁰ Harold E. Donnell, "Prison Labor—the Existing Situation," *Proceedings of the American Prison Association, 1937* (New York: The Association, 1937), p. 229.

⁵¹ It should be noted that the states requesting surveys were presumably those in greatest need of reorganizing their prison industries, so the uniformity described here is applicable only to the states studied, rather than to all states.

⁵² U.S. Prison Industries Reorganization Administration, *The Prison Labor Problem in Kentucky* (Washington, D.C., 1936), chap. ii, p. 1.

PIRA reported that there were 6 idle prisoners in the Maryland correctional institutions in 1923, 704 in 1932, and 1,522 in 1935 and added that for ten or fifteen years the threat of ejecting the contract system had a steady effect on the withdrawal of contractors and the lessening of work opportunities for Maryland prisoners.⁵³

The PIRA report on Missouri presented a grim situation that was complicated by restrictions against use of prisoners on projects aided by federal funds. As the survey reported:

When our representatives visited Jefferson City in November and December 1937 the scene inside the prison walls was an almost indescribable paradox of idleness and activity. A large force of workmen employed on the PWA contracts was busily engaged in excavation for new cell block foundations and pipe lines, in masonry work and all sorts of construction. At the same time 1,780 idle inmates were watching free men work or else were confined to their cells lest they mingle too freely with the civilians.⁵⁴

The same paradox was observed in New Mexico. According to the PIRA:

The possibilities of industrial employment in the New Mexico penitentiary are not very great. The only safe course is in the expansion of sales among the institutions and agencies of the state; but even in this direction development is difficult under existing regulations which prohibit the purchase of prison-made materials (brick and tile) in construction made possible by Federal funds in whole or in part. Owing to this prohibition brick had to be purchased for one PWA structure from a distance of 300 miles in another state and dumped on the penitentiary

⁵³ U.S. Prison Industries Reorganization Administration, *The Prison Labor Problem in Maryland* (Washington, D.C., 1936), p. 6.

⁵⁴ U.S. Prison Industries Reorganization Administration, *The Prison Labor Problem in Missouri* (Washington, D.C., 1938), p. 31. Alterations and additions costing nearly \$5,000,000 were being financed by a state bond issue and a federal grant from the Public Works Administration (*ibid.*, p. 2). It should be noted that the "world's largest prison" at Jackson, Michigan, was built by prisoners.

grounds in Santa Fe, while the brick plant at the Penitentiary was not permitted to be used for this purpose.⁵⁵

The type of idleness reported by the PIRA as existing in Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri—hundreds in total idleness—was relatively unique. Much more common was the idleness found in California, where idleness only slightly camouflaged by overassignment was characteristic. Only 152 men of the 8,000 in the two California prisons, San Quentin and Folsom, were listed as altogether idle, but the survey reported:

However, from analysis of the data and from observation, we know that many hundreds of men in both San Quentin and Folsom are employed only casually or for a few hours during the day, and that the work is spread out to employ as many men as possible. An average of 3,223 men are supposed to be employed in producing goods worth \$849,000, or \$263 per man per year. Obviously the jobs are greatly overmanned.⁵⁶

A survey of California institutions by the Osborne Association as late as 1940 showed graphically the overmanning that existed in the quarry at Folsom, long known as an "idle house":

At the time of the visit there were 477 men assigned to the quarry, but it actually provides employment for only 60 men. As a result of this excess of inmates a system has been worked out of employing only 60 men at one time on shifts of one hour each, and while that many men are employed the remaining 417 loaf about the quarry. These inmates either lean against a cyclone fence near the canal, sit about lazily on benches, care for small plots of garden measuring 5 feet square which some of the older inmates have made, or sleep in small shacks which have been constructed by the inmates from salvaged materials. There is an abundance of laundry about the quarry which inmates have washed and placed on benches and rocks to dry.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ U.S. Prison Industries Reorganization Administration, *The Prison Labor Problem in New Mexico* (Washington, D.C., 1938), p. 7.

⁵⁶ U.S. Prison Industries Reorganization Administration, *The Prison Labor Problem in California* (Washington, D.C., 1937), p. 15.

The scene described is reminiscent of the definition of maintenance work offered by James V. Bennett in 1937, when he described the idleness in the Kentucky prisons—"cleaning, cooking and taking in each other's wash."⁵⁸

These depressing examples could be multiplied almost indefinitely. It seems quite evident that, in one form or another, idleness was the typical pattern of most of the industrial prisons of the thirties. Nevertheless, it should be noted that idleness, while perhaps most acute in the contract-system prisons, was prevalent and has been prevalent in nearly all state correctional institutions. All the idleness in prisons was not due to the new restrictive legislation, even though the restrictions became an aggravating factor by reducing the number employed in certain prison industries. The Ohio Penitentiary, where state use had been employed since 1918, was reported to have an "idle squad" of between 1,200 and 2,000 in August, 1928.⁵⁹ In January, 1939, according to the director of public welfare of Ohio, there were in the "idle house" 1,900 employable men, whose sole exercise was to march around the yard twice a day and to meals.⁶⁰

THE REPLACEMENT OF OPEN-MARKET PRISON INDUSTRIES

If states such as Ohio, which had had long experience with prison idleness, did not solve the prison-labor problem, it is

⁵⁷ The Osborne Association, Inc., *Handbook of American Prisons and Reformatories*, ed. Austin H. McCormick (5th ed.; New York: The Association, 1942), II, 285-86.

⁵⁸ "Horse Collars and Prisons," *Survey*, LXXIII (September, 1937), 277-78.

⁵⁹ George W. Kirchwey, "The Prison's Place in the Penal System," in *Prisons of Tomorrow, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CLVII, 13.

⁶⁰ Charles L. Sherwood, "Ohio's Penal Problems," *Proceedings of the American Prison Association*, 1940, p. 20.

not surprising that the states in which the abolition of prison contracts was a complicating factor did not solve it either. The passing of the contract industries underlined and emphasized the fact that the over-all programs of correctional institutions were grossly inadequate, regardless of the system of prison labor used. All the evidence points to an almost incredible lack of planning on the part of the states. The failure to plan wisely for the end of the contract system was just one more instance in which, for various reasons, the states failed to execute adequate plans for well-rounded correctional programs. The states did something, but not nearly enough.

From 1932 to 1940 there was a general expansion of various state-use activities, including public works and ways, so that 88 per cent of the 77,000 prisoners productively employed in 1940 were in these two systems. This compares with 65 per cent in 1932, when virtually the same number of prisoners were productively employed.⁶¹ The changes in individual states were not uniform; while in some states it was easy to expand farming operations, in others climatic and other considerations made the transition far more difficult.

Shortly after the Hawes-Cooper Act became effective in 1934, James V. Bennett said that a few of the states, notably New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Virginia, had put the state-use system into effect; but in most of the states where the contract system was eliminated "the prisoners are in idleness because the state has not had the funds or the organization to go forward with a system of state-use industries."⁶² Without question, the fi-

nancial dilemma of the states was a real one, but probably equally important was the protracted failure to recognize the implications of restrictive legislation. Addressing the annual meeting of the Osborne Association in New York, February 20, 1936, William B. Cox, executive secretary, remarked: "In a number of states prison administrators are not fully realizing the devastating effect of the Hawes-Cooper Act with relation to prison industries."⁶³ This was in spite of the dire forecasts of what would happen if the act passed, made by prison officials at the Hawes-Cooper bill hearings in February, 1928. Ten years after the hearings, the PIRA had this to say about Missouri's failure to plan for a good prison program:

Missouri's century of prison experience makes it clear that any policy which has for its only purpose economy of operation will of itself fail to achieve that purpose, and that the State must accept its own responsibility for its wards rather than trying to lease them like chattels for commercial purposes. Furthermore, prisoners cannot be properly cared for by merely expanding a single institution indefinitely and it is clear that the essential need is for diversified penal institutions and a forward-looking prison program.⁶⁴

There is some evidence that prison administrators did not agree as to the purpose of prison industries. The attorney-general's study of conditions in 1936-37 covered 88 correctional institutions: 22 prisons reported the aim of their industrial program to be the training of prisoners, 11 regarded industries simply as a means of giving employment to inmates, 21 "gave profit as their chief aim," and 34 did not report any industrial program objective.⁶⁵ This confusion as to the function of prison industries is important be-

⁶¹ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Prison Labor in the United States: 1940*, pp. 5, 8. From 1932 to 1940, the state prison population increased from 145,000 to 173,000.

⁶² James V. Bennett, "Prison Labor at the Crossroads," p. 247.

⁶³ The Osborne Association, Inc., *Report for the Year 1935* (New York: The Association, 1936), p. 9.

⁶⁴ U.S. Prison Industries Reorganization Administration, *The Prison Labor in Missouri*, p. 25.

⁶⁵ U.S. Department of Justice, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

cause it may help to account for the failure to substitute diversified state-use industries for the contract system. Missouri finally admitted in 1939 what should have been apparent a decade before.

With Missouri our only market, it must be obvious that the day of large profits from factories operated by prison labor is a thing of the past. Employment of prison inmates upon humanitarian grounds must now be the first consideration, but at the same time economic features and advantages must not be neglected.⁶⁶

Even this statement lacks conviction. Apparently, if the day of large profits was, in fact, a thing of the past, Missouri was willing to employ prison inmates on "humanitarian grounds."

The transition to state use was remarkably slow in some "contract" states. Kentucky, which was among the worst, reported 1,761 idle prisoners in 1940, but employed only 311 on state-use projects,⁶⁷ as compared with 75 in 1931.⁶⁸ West Virginia, which reported 1,150 idle in 1940, employed only 715 in state use.⁶⁹ As early as 1931, the Wickersham Commission placed the blame for the failure to develop adequate state-use industries on the prison administrators. Admitting that there were extenuating circumstances, such as lack of sufficient funds and the absence of standardization of goods, the commission insisted that these did not "alter the responsibility of the officials. . . . Unless they succeed in finding work, they can not expect to meet their responsibility either to the prisoners or to

the community."⁷⁰ Robinson also expressed the opinion that the prison officials were blameworthy to some extent:

The inertia of government officials is also a potent factor in the prison unemployment situation. If idleness has been the condition within an institution, an incoming administration accepts this as a wholly natural state of affairs and makes little or no effort to bring about a change. So, too, when confronted with the necessity of shifting from one labor system to another, prison administrators by their lack of business acumen, daring, and ingenuity suffer in comparison with the entrepreneurs of the free business world.⁷¹

Unquestionably, the lack of initiative and foresight of the responsible state officials was a factor in the failure to develop adequate programs to keep prisoners constructively occupied, but the inadequacy of the funds made available to them was an important handicap that should not be overlooked. State-use programs also have certain realistic limitations that deserve brief exploration.

STATE-USE LIMITATIONS

The fact that no one system offers a solution to the prison-labor problem has been emphasized by Robinson, who notes that the state-use system is "too often regarded as a panacea."⁷² Nevertheless, in spite of the accuracy of this observation, the state-use system, combined with institutional farming and public works and ways, is the only productive system that can be used by most correctional programs. With very few exceptions, state prisons had the choice of developing state-use industries or revising their prison programs along other lines, mainly educational and vocational in nature, or doing both.

In nearly every state surveyed, the

⁶⁶ State of Missouri, *Biennial Report of the Department of Penal Institutions, 1937-1938* (Jefferson City, n.d.), p. 11.

⁶⁷ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Prison Labor in the United States: 1940*, p. 11.

⁶⁸ U.S. Prison Industries Reorganization Administration, *The Prison Labor Problem in Kentucky*, chap. ii, p. 1.

⁶⁹ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Prison Labor in the United States: 1940*, p. 12.

⁷⁰ U.S. National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

⁷¹ Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 122.

PIRA made estimates of the state-use market theoretically available to prison industries. Using data for goods that could be made in prisons, defined as goods actually being made in some prisons, the agency concluded that state-use industries were meeting only a small fraction of the states' needs for these products. The situation in a state with long experience in state use is even more significant than the PIRA estimates, which refer usually to what could be done if additional industries were established, rather than to the prospects for established industries. New York, in 1929, had three decades of state-use experience, but its prison-labor problem was not solved. It had developed a state-use system which produced goods amounting to only about one-tenth of its estimated potential market. In commenting on this situation, the Prison Association of New York noted that there was a tendency to avoid the purchase of prison-made products and that the state-use industries lacked adequate and modern shops and equipments.⁷³

As the attorney-general's survey pointed out, the chief problem of state-use industries is to find a market and to hold it.⁷⁴ In order to do this, it is necessary both to define state use in sufficiently broad terms to give state-use industries an adequate market and to enact and enforce a good mandatory purchase law. The widespread failure to do these two things has been the outstanding limitation of the state-use program.⁷⁵

If an adequate market for prison industries is to be found, a liberal inter-

pretation of "state use" is essential. Taken in the broadest sense, "state use" embodies states use, which extends the potential market of a prison industry to the institutions and agencies of other states and the federal government. Taken in the narrowest sense, "state use" is confined to the institutions of a single state. In practice, state use falls somewhere between these extremes, and, with occasional exceptions and variations, the market usually covers state institutions and agencies and frequently extends to the institutions and agencies of the political subdivisions. By 1936-37, twenty-two states maintained an exclusive state-use system, with minor exceptions, and twenty-two other states had a combination of state use and state account.⁷⁶

The broad states-use definition, which is the one used by the 1940 U.S. Bureau of Labor statistics study, has received a cool reception. Heralded by its prominent advocate, Dr. E. Stagg Whitin, as a solution to the prison industries problem,⁷⁷ it presents many difficulties, aside from the question of opposition, such as the danger of concentrating production in two or three industries. Although it has been urged as the logical answer to the problem of small states with a limited state-use market and although it was

⁷³ There are, of course, many limitations in state use that are essentially limitations of particular prisons—bad management, shoddy production, poor equipment, poor planning with reference to the market, inadequate diversification, and archaic personnel practices—but the emphasis here is on major limitations which are part and parcel of the restrictive attempts and which, in a sense, predetermine the size of the market.

⁷⁴ U.S. Department of Justice, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-88.

⁷⁵ State of New York, *The Eighty-fifth Annual Report of the Prison Association of New York, 1929* (Legislative Doc. No. 93 [Albany: J. B. Lyon Co., 1930]), p. 29. The two factors are closely related, because it is essential that state-use prison industries produce goods that meet normal standards found in like goods produced outside of prisons.

⁷⁶ U.S. Department of Justice, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

⁷⁷ See E. Stagg Whitin, "Self-supporting Prisons," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XV (August, 1924), 323-28. This article describes the mechanics of the scheme, said to be a result of War Industries Board experience with allocation of prison-made goods in 1917-18.

still recommended in 1946 by the American Prison Association,⁷⁸ it has never been employed satisfactorily. A central nonprofit allocation and marketing authority was proposed and tried briefly in the twenties. Robinson's evaluation of it in 1931 is still pertinent:

The Associates for Government Service aim to supply the necessary organization, but it is extremely doubtful if a private corporation will succeed in establishing itself as a distributing agency for a number of state industries, especially when prison administrations are subject to periodic changes and the dictates of each succeeding legislature. The whole plan predicates a stability of organization which very few of our state penal systems have attained. And the one or two which are well enough organized to embark on a plan of exchanging surplus products are able to handle the transactions without outside help.⁷⁹

As a matter of fact, the plan was not operating at all in 1936-37, and seven states specifically prohibited such sales.⁸⁰

The following colloquy between William C. Roberts, chairman of the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor, and Howard B. Gill, secretary of the Association of States Signatory to the Prison Compact, provides an illuminating example of restrictive definition of state use. The discussion, which took place during hearings before a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee on a proposed amendment to the Ashurst-Sumners Act, concerned the purchase by the Civilian Conservation Corps of stoves manufactured in a Tennessee prison.

MR. GILL: I would like to ask Mr. Roberts

⁷⁸ American Prison Association, Committee on the Model State Plan, *Suggested Standards for a State Correctional System* (New York: The Association, 1946), chap. viii, p. 6.

⁷⁹ Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

⁸⁰ U.S. Department of Justice, *op. cit.*, p. 188. The states prohibiting states use were: California, Illinois, Montana, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Oregon, and Washington.

to explain why he opposed the purchase of those stoves for Government use when he is in favor of State use?

MR. ROBERTS: What do you mean?

MR. GILL: You believe in State use?

MR. ROBERTS: Yes.

MR. GILL: Here is State use, an article sold by the State for Government use, and you opposed it.

MR. ROBERTS: Yes.

MR. GILL: Why did you oppose State use?

MR. ROBERTS: We didn't want the Government to buy anything from the States, and didn't want one State buying for another State.

MR. GILL: You believe in restricted State use?

MR. ROBERTS: Yes; let each State take care of its own products.

MR. GILL: It is a limited State use?

MR. ROBERTS: For the use of the State that passes the law, and not to sell the other states.

MR. GILL: The State use program includes the sale of prison products for Government use.

MR. ROBERTS: No.

MR. GILL: You will find it in the reports of the Department of Labor.⁸¹

It seems quite evident here that the Federation spokesman believed in restricted state use, although at one time Dr. Whitin stated the states use plan had the "unqualified endorsement" of the American Federation of Labor.⁸² As Gill stated in 1931, the plan is "opposed to every natural provincial and political instinct."⁸³

The heart of the matter seems to be that those engaged in any occupation, whether entrepreneurs or labor, are likely

⁸¹ U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, *Prison-made Goods: Hearings on S. 4286* (74th Cong., 2d sess., June 2, 1936), pp. 47-48. It is not clear whether the stoves were purchased or not.

⁸² Whitin, *op. cit.*, p. 327. But cf. E. W. McCullough, "Manufacturing in Prisons—Some Observations of Business," *Proceedings of the American Prison Association*, 1926, pp. 250-51.

⁸³ Howard B. Gill, "The Prison Labor Problem" in *Prisons of Tomorrow, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CLVII (September, 1931), 94. Gill had an opportunity to verify this when he acted in 1936-37 as secretary to the Association of States Signatory to the Prison Compact, a plan with some of the features of the Association for Government Service scheme.

to regard prisoners engaged in similar pursuits as offering "unfair" competition. Apparently, no type of productive prison employment is safe from attack. Robinson reports that the prison brickyard at Jackson, Michigan, was forced to close because of outside opposition⁸⁴ and that protests against prison farms were made by farm groups in West Virginia and Virginia.⁸⁵ Printing, except work for the Department of Correction, is barred in New York, and attempts in 1939 to prohibit brush-making in New York prisons failed only after strong opposition by the Prison Association of New York.⁸⁶ In 1937 the Ohio legislature passed a bill which prohibited the purchase by school systems of school furniture manufactured in the state's penal and correctional institutions, despite the fact that there were no manufacturers of school furniture in Ohio.⁸⁷ The governor vetoed the bill. In New York the legislature in 1933 struck from the governor's recommended budget an item of \$150,000 for prison camps and cantonments in an attempt to block the use of prisoners in highway construction.⁸⁸ In Wisconsin, in December, 1947, the building-trades unions protested against the use of prisoners from the Wisconsin State Prison in dismantling state-acquired war surplus temporary buildings at Truax Field, Madison. These protests were effective—the prisoners were withdrawn from the project on order of the governor.

As Sanford Bates remarks, leaders in

⁸⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 281.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁸⁶ State of New York, *The Ninety-fifth Annual Report of the Prison Association of New York, 1939* (Legislative Doc. No. 89), pp. 62-63.

⁸⁷ Charles D. Osborne, "Prison Labor as Seen by the Osborne Association," *Proceedings of the American Prison Association, 1937*, pp. 240-41.

⁸⁸ State of New York, *The Ninetieth Annual Report of the Prison Association of New York, 1934* (Legislative Doc. No. 109), p. 13.

both manufacturing and labor adhere to the state-use principle, but they find it hard to keep their constituents in line, and "individual trades and organizations do not hesitate to throw every possible obstacle in the way of its legitimate development."⁸⁹

The attorney-general's survey noted that by 1940 twenty-two states had attempted to create a market for state-use industries by passing legislation requiring the purchase of prison products by tax-supported agencies. In ten states the requirement extended only to state agencies; in eleven states, such purchases were mandatory on both state and local political subdivisions, including counties, cities, and towns; and in one state the state highway commission was required to purchase auto license plates from the prison plant.⁹⁰ At first glance, it would seem that in states possessing compulsory purchase laws, especially those which include the political subdivisions, the problem of creating a market for prison industries would be solved. This has not been the case. Compulsory purchase laws have been evaded in many ways, the easiest method being to include in the specifications a special item which the prison did not or could not match. In other instances, the law, being without sanction, has simply been ignored.

The survey reported that Massachusetts probably had the most successful compulsory purchase law. This provided that a release issued by the Department of Correction must accompany a request for payment for any article manufactured by the prison but bought elsewhere before it would be passed for payment by the state comptroller. The law also provided for removal of any state official who failed to comply with it, but the use of such penalties was seldom, if

⁸⁹ Sanford Bates, *Prisons and Beyond*, pp. 99-100.

⁹⁰ U.S. Department of Justice, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

ever, invoked. According to the survey, the effectiveness of the provision lies in the fact that the existence of the law gives most state officials a satisfactory answer "to the importunings of politicians and friends."⁹¹ Massachusetts, which used many devices, such as an annual exhibition of prison products, an illustrated catalogue, and special sales agents, also routinely sent communications to all officials not purchasing from the department, calling attention to the mandatory provisions of the law.⁹² Although the data must be used with caution, Massachusetts had productive employment for about 45 per cent of its prisoners in 1940, while three long-time state-use states—Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York—reported 34 per cent, 32 per cent, and 25 per cent, respectively, as productively employed. The value of the product for each prisoner employed was substantially higher in Massachusetts than in the other states, being roughly 50 per cent higher than in New York, which presumably, but not necessarily, reflects less overmanning.⁹³

While not a cure-all, a good compulsory purchase law seems vital to a state-

use program. At least, it would prevent incidents such as that reported by Austin H. MacCormick, executive director of the Osborne Association, who described the fate of 100 dozen bandanna handkerchiefs that had been made in a state reformatory for institutional use. A jobber sold bandannas to the reformatory for a cent a dozen less, and "today the bandanna handkerchiefs that were made in the reformatory are sitting in the warehouse."⁹⁴ MacCormick, in a discussion a decade before, referred to a warehouse filled with unsold furniture at the Joliet, Illinois, prison and made this very practical observation regarding the reason that purchasing agents in government departments did not buy the furniture: "The seller for the private company can give them a big dinner and slip them fifty dollars and the man that represents the State can't do it."⁹⁵

State use may not be a panacea in any case, but certainly the limitations described and the widespread failure of the states to enact state-use laws with a broad definition of the term and with enforceable compulsory purchase features explain to some extent the disappointing experience with state use.

THE FAILURE TO SUBSTITUTE CONSTRUCTIVE ACTIVITIES

The replacement of open-market prison industries by state-use industries and nonindustrial productive employment activities was not especially successful, but prison administrators had an opportunity to expand other phases of the program, especially in the areas of education and training. The absence of opportunities for productive employment need

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 220-21.

⁹² Commonwealth of Massachusetts, *Annual Report of the Commission of Correction for the Year Ending November 30, 1927* (Public Doc. No. 115 [Boston, 1928]), p. 7.

⁹³ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Prison Labor in the United States: 1940*, p. 8. A cursory review of the industries in the two states compared does not indicate that there was any substantial difference in the products of the major industries which would account for the difference in product values reported. The point here is that dollar-value comparisons are dangerous because they do not reflect the value added to the product by the labor of prisoners. Raw materials may represent one-tenth the value of certain wood products but may represent nine-tenths the value of binder twine. Thus a prison industry producing \$200,000 worth of one kind of goods may actually provide more work for prisoners than another prison industry producing \$1,000,000 worth of a different kind of goods.

⁹⁴ *Proceedings of the American Prison Association, 1940*, p. 371. Statement made in discussing the report of the committee on prison labor.

⁹⁵ *Proceedings of the American Prison Association, 1930*, pp. 147-48.

not mean idle prisoners. If those not "productively employed" are otherwise constructively occupied, an even higher prison goal than full productive employment for prisoners may be attained.

The attorney-general's study succinctly emphasized this point in one of its summary statements:

From a place of domination in prison programs, prison industries have gone to the other extreme where idleness due to their absence is the outstanding feature of prison life in sixty-six prisons and a major problem in all but six. The industrial prison as such exists in only a few places. In its stead is developing a prison in which industry will play one part, although an important one, in the daily program. No longer incidental to, but equal with industry at last, is training—not primarily because prison officials have come to realize that work is not the panacea for crime, but because they must conquer idleness at all costs or suffer from the mischief which it generates. . . . The results may be more significant in the protection of society than the profits of prison industry have ever proved in the battle on crime.⁹⁶

Broadly conceived, training involves a wide variety of programs. The federal Bureau of Prisons, which uses realistic classification studies as a basis of discovering the needs of prisoners, provides employment in prison industries but also conducts a substantial training program. The general education program has three levels, including one program for prisoners who test below fifth grade (nearly one-third), another for those in the fifth-to eighth-grade category (about one-half), and another for those at secondary-school level or above (about one-fifth). An additional program called "social education" utilizes such devices as forums, debates, discussion groups, and general lectures. The vocational training program has four main divisions: on-job training carried out in connection with industries and maintenance work, trade

training, related-trades classes, and vocational agriculture.⁹⁷

No substantial evidence regarding over-all training programs in the state prisons of the thirties is available, but there is evidence that even the basic educational needs of prisoners were not being met. It should be admitted that a prison educational program is neither a panacea that will "cure" criminals nor a realistic substitute for work for all idle prisoners. But an educational program, directed at the development of the individual as a total personality, is a necessity in a balanced correctional program, which has as its goal the rehabilitation of prisoners. MacCormick, in his important survey in 1927-28, found not one "complete and well-rounded educational program, adequately financed and staffed," in all the prisons of the United States.⁹⁸ The attorney-general's survey a decade later found relatively little change for the country as a whole, although some states, especially New York, Wisconsin, and California, were in the process of making substantial improvements.⁹⁹ Fourteen prisons in twelve states had no educational program; but in fourteen other prisons which had no educational programs or very limited ones the WPA had established active educational projects; and in fifteen other prisons that agency was aiding in maintaining or enlarging existing programs. In 1940, 7 per cent of state prisoners attended school as "a ma-

⁹⁷ U.S. Bureau of Prisons, *Federal Prisons, 1948* (Leavenworth, Kan.: United States Penitentiary, 1949), pp. 26-31. This description is not intended to reflect a comparison with the state programs discussed, which were of an earlier era, but to indicate the broad nature of a program based on the total needs of the prison population.

⁹⁸ Austin H. MacCormick, *The Education of Adult Prisoners* (New York: National Society of Penal Information, 1931), p. 38.

⁹⁹ U.S. Department of Justice, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-83.

⁹⁶ U.S. Department of Justice, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

for daily assignment," but eleven states reported no prisoners in this category, while sixteen additional states reported less than fifty prisoners so engaged.¹⁰⁰ The PIRA reports showed that many states were not even meeting the most elementary educational needs of prisoners. Although it is contended by some that the prison should not be expected to fulfil the responsibilities of the state with respect to all the educational needs of adults, it seems reasonable to assert that the rudimentary skills required for adult adjustment are just as much the prison's responsibility as are the medical needs of the prisoners.

The PIRA surveys showed that prisoners had very limited exposure to education prior to commitment. In Kentucky the PIRA found that 60 per cent of the prisoners had not been in school beyond the sixth grade and that one-fourth of all prisoners had not gone beyond third grade—despite the fact that 51 per cent of the prisoner population were under thirty years of age.¹⁰¹ In Maryland 11 per cent of the prisoners were illiterate, and another 11 per cent had not attended school beyond the third grade, while 70 per cent had not gone beyond the sixth grade.¹⁰² In Tennessee the illiteracy rate for men in prison was 21 per cent, which was over two and a half times the rate for the state's population ten years of age and over, and 43 per cent of the men prisoners had not

attended school beyond the fourth grade.¹⁰³ In Oklahoma nearly half the prisoners had not attended school beyond the sixth grade.¹⁰⁴

These statements, which are based on unverified information given by the prisoners, presumably reflect an overstatement of both highest grade attended and actual grade level. Nevertheless, they suffice to indicate that meeting even the most elementary educational needs of many of the prisoners of these states would require extensive training courses realistically geared to adult levels. In view of this, it is interesting to note that the Missouri Penitentiary, a notorious "idle house" in the thirties, opened its first "school" on January 2, 1940, with stress on the primary grades "because more than twenty per cent of the inmates have not progressed beyond a barely literate state in the public schools."¹⁰⁵ That lack of planning was involved seems obvious. One of the paradoxical developments in the thirties was the building of Georgia's Reidsville Prison with federal PWA aid—an institution about which the PIRA reported in 1937: "There is no space set aside for educational and voca-

¹⁰⁰ U.S. Prison Industries Reorganization Administration, *The Prison Labor Problem in Maryland*, p. 21. A WPA project, employing twenty teachers, was under way at the time of the survey, but it was noted that there was no state appropriation for teachers' salaries or for purchase of textbooks and other educational equipment. The teachers were using unpartitioned shop space (*ibid.*, p. 22).

¹⁰¹ U.S. Prison Industries Reorganization Administration, *The Prison Labor Problem in Tennessee* (Washington, D.C., 1937), pp. 63-64.

¹⁰² U.S. Prison Industries Reorganization Administration, *The Prison Labor Problem in Oklahoma*, p. 36.

¹⁰³ State of Missouri, *Biennial Report of the Department of Penal Institutions, 1939-1940* (Jefferson City, n.d.), p. 89. This was a night school, and it was cautiously observed that the school "does not interfere with the regular employment of the inmates . . ." (*ibid.*).

¹⁰⁰ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Prison Labor in the United States: 1940*, pp. 10-11. These data must be used cautiously because some correctional programs with better-than-average educational programs report relatively few in full-time school. In the year cited about 36 per cent of all federal prisoners were registered in educational activities, but only about 1 per cent were considered attending school as a "major daily assignment."

¹⁰¹ U.S. Prison Industries Reorganization Administration, *The Prison Labor Problem in Kentucky*, chap. ii, p. 9.

tional training classrooms and no provision for a library. . . ."¹⁰⁶

PRISON IDLENESS NOT INEVITABLE

These examples, which admittedly do not present a comprehensive picture, certainly suggest that the idleness in the prisons during the thirties was not inevitable. The Prison Association of New York, commenting in 1937 on the idleness in prisons, which it described as greater than at any time in fifty years, blamed a combination of restrictive legislation and "the slowness of many states to adjust themselves to the change by setting up substitute systems of prison labor."¹⁰⁷ Commissioner William J. Ellis, of the New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies, using questionnaires, made a survey in 1935, which paid special attention to the use of various types of federal aid then available to correctional institutions. The range was very great: one institution received an entirely new plant, another had the services of one stenographer for three weeks. Nearly half the reporting institutions received no benefits. After describing the great variety of services utilized, Commissioner Ellis said that it would be difficult to name a service not available and, commenting on the proportion of institutions which reported no service, added: "This is convincing proof that many of the effects of depression were controllable to an appreciable extent. Again it seems the answer is the personnel and organization in control."¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ U.S. Prison Industries Reorganization Administration, *The Prison Labor Problem in Georgia*, p. 50.

¹⁰⁷ State of New York, *The Ninety-third Annual Report of the Prison Association of New York* (Legislative Doc. No. 62 [1938]), p. 35.

¹⁰⁸ William J. Ellis, "Survey of the Effects of the Financial Strain on Correctional Systems," *Proceedings of the American Prison Association*, 1935, p. 77.

Although isolation and measurement of the effects of the restrictive legislation is not possible in the presence of the many complex causes for prison idleness, particularly the impact of the depression and the great increase in the populations of the correctional institutions, this consideration of the aftermath of the legislation does permit several general conclusions about prison conditions in the states during the thirties.

The contraction of the market area for prison goods by restrictive legislation clearly ended the influence of the contract and piece-price systems of prison labor and curtailed the state-account system. The loss of 18,000 productive jobs in these systems between 1932 and 1940 unquestionably added to the difficulties of adjustment by prison systems to the influx of prisoners that increased the average number of prisoners under sentence in state prisons from 145,000 in 1932 to 173,000 in 1940—an increase of nearly 30,000 prisoners, for whom some constructive occupation should have been provided. With some exceptions in individual states, no appreciable increase in productive employment took place, other than to add about 18,000 to the productively employed group—largely by overmanning existing job details. Again, with some exceptions, the evidence suggests that there was relatively little development of constructive pursuits other than productive employment, despite the obvious needs presented by the prisoners as a whole.

It seems necessary to conclude that, generally speaking, the states, for various reasons, failed to rise to the challenge suggested by *The Attorney General's Survey of Release Procedures*, in its comment on the 1935-36 situation:

The effect of such widespread idleness in 90 per cent of the state prisons of the country is

so obvious as to require little further explanation. From the beginning of the modern penitentiary system, that is since Auburn was reorganized in 1823, industry has been the main element in the prison program. With that reduced to the point where full-time productive work including maintenance work, can only be found for less than one-half of the inmates of Industrial Prisons, a new type of program must be developed.¹⁰⁹

That the "new type of program" had not been developed generally by 1940 is quite evident. In discussing the situation in that year, James V. Bennett made this observation:

I go around and see these prisons with so many of the men in idleness. We can camouflage it as you wish, and you can talk about the number of men who are employed, and so on, but the actual fact is that the idleness, either real or admitted, is simply appalling now. You go into an institution and find about five times as many men as are needed in the kitchen, and about five times as many as are needed in the laundry. . . .¹¹⁰

Truly, the industrial prison, the busy factory, was gone, and the way was open for the creation of a constructive program based on the total needs of prisoners. As early as 1935, one of the most able students of the problem, Howard B. Gill, stated that the industrial prison was a failure penologically. After analyzing the various needs of the prison population, he suggests that a well-rounded program could be developed which would provide constructive employment part of the time for about 75 per cent of the

prison population outside of prison industries—taking into consideration real maintenance needs and the educational, medical, and psychiatric needs of the prisoners. But, as he pointed out, this would require the development of constructive activities of every kind—industrial, educational, medical, and social.¹¹¹

For the most part the challenges of progressive leaders such as Gill, Bennett, and others went unheeded. The decade of federal prison-labor acts was marked by the failure of the states to provide the funds for personnel and equipment to put into effect a program based on the "new penology." The substitutes for imprisonment—probation and parole—were not expanded intelligently; and, with few exceptions, the states met the problem of increased numbers of prisoners in an unenlightened and unsatisfactory fashion. Unfortunately, in many instances, they lacked both the leadership and the funds required to modernize their correctional programs.

The federal government, which had made the existing situation more complicated by restrictive legislation, acknowledged its obligation in part but in a rather feeble way. An examination of the federal attempts to assist the states through the PIRA is justified, nevertheless, since federal leadership and help may be the only long-term solution to the prison problem in the states.

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¹⁰⁹ U.S. Department of Justice, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

¹¹⁰ *Proceedings of the American Prison Association*, 1940, pp. 369-70. Mr. Bennett was president of the Association at the time the statement was made.

¹¹¹ Howard B. Gill, "The Future of Prison Employment," *Proceedings of the American Prison Association*, 1935, pp. 179-85.

RECREATION PROGRAMS IN HOMES FOR THE AGED IN COOK COUNTY, ILLINOIS

MARY ZAHROBSKY

AGROWING awareness that people over sixty-five who have left a long-time occupation or have been relieved of family responsibilities are not too old to enjoy life has led to the development of a variety of programs for this rapidly increasing group of our population. Golden-age clubs and projects of various kinds, designed to help aged persons use their free time in a satisfying and constructive fashion, are springing up everywhere. Settlements, community centers, churches, and some of the public welfare agencies are concerning themselves with this community need and are experimenting with a variety of program possibilities. Homes for the aged are also gradually learning that they can contribute to the happiness of their residents if, in addition to food and shelter, opportunities for activities are provided which give the elderly persons a feeling of accomplishment, of being recognized and accepted as useful members of society.

Because the idea that recreational activities should be incorporated in the programs of homes for the aged is a relatively new one and because little is known of the types of activity that do exist in these institutions, the Committee on Recreation for Later Maturity of the Chicago Recreation Commission¹ decided in the spring and summer of 1947 to find out what recreational activities are taking place in homes for the aged in Cook County, Illinois. A member of the committee, Ben L. Grossman, executive director of the Home for Aged Jews, enlisted the co-operation of the School of

Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, in assigning graduate students enrolled in an applied research methods course to collect the data for the study. Also co-operating in the study was the Community Project for the Aged, a service of the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, established on March 3, 1947, for the purpose of discovering and defining "the needs of our older population and, after adequate facts have been marshaled, to see that these needs are met in so far as possible." Both organizations joined in final plans for the study, since several members of the Committee on Recreation for Later Maturity also serve on the Recreation Committee of the Community Project for the Aged.

Information for the study was obtained during the late spring and summer of 1947 by means of a personal interview with either the head of the home or a board member responsible for the home's recreational program.² A list of forty-four homes located within the boundaries of

¹ The Chicago Recreation Commission, created in 1935 by the authority of the City Council of Chicago, was organized to make a thorough study of the city's leisure-time needs and to provide leadership for bringing about a co-ordination of recreational plans locally and to plan intelligently the co-ordination of the various systems and enterprises for recreation. The Committee on Recreation for Later Maturity, one of a large number of committees through which the commission carries on its work, is made up of leaders in various fields of group-work activity and was chaired by Ernest W. Burgess, chairman of the Department of Sociology of the University of Chicago.

² The schedule used for the collection of the data had the approval of the two organizations co-operating in the study.

Cook County was supplied the study group by the Community Project for the Aged, but only thirty-four homes were finally included in the survey.³

Despite the fact that not all the Cook County homes for the aged are included in the study, the findings do give a picture of the recreational activities, both planned and unplanned, that are engaged in by the residents of most of the homes.

THE HOMES AND THEIR RESIDENTS

Before a consideration of the types of recreational activities and facilities provided by the homes at the time the study is made, a brief description of the institutions—their auspices and size and the types of residents who are accepted—is included in order to give the reader a better understanding of the variation in the kinds of homes that have been established in Cook County.

So far as auspices go, the majority of homes for the aged in Cook County are privately controlled. Only one of the thirty-four homes, Oak Forest Infirmary, is a public institution. Of the remaining thirty-three privately operated homes, twelve are affiliated with various Protestant churches, six with the Roman Catholic church, two with Jewish agencies, and thirteen are either privately endowed or have some connection with a fraternal, racial, or national organization. The twelve homes operating under the auspices of Protestant churches are of the following denominations: Baptist

³ Eight homes were eliminated because transportation to the home was difficult or required too great an expenditure of time, and two others because the student was not granted an interview, even though a letter signed by the chairman of the Committee on Later Maturity had been sent to the home notifying the person in charge of the student's proposed visit and enlisting his or her co-operation. The ten homes not included in the study range in size of capacity from 9 to 145 residents, including only four that have a capacity of at least 100 and three with a capacity of less than 25.

three, Congregational one, Dutch Reformed one, Episcopal one, Lutheran two, Methodist two, Methodist Episcopal one, Presbyterian one.

The total number of persons living in the thirty-four homes at the time the study was made was approximately five thousand. The number of residents ranged from a low of five, in a small home for Negro women, to a high of almost twenty-one hundred in Oak Forest Infirmary. The majority of homes, twenty-five in number, had each at least fifty residents, including six homes which had between two and three hundred residents. The homes were filled to capacity, and long waiting lists were the rule rather than the exception. Applicants seeking admission into the private homes frequently have to wait two or three years, since vacancies usually occur only when there has been a death among the residents.

Most of the homes provide care for both sexes. Only one of the thirty-four homes limits its services to men, while four accept only women. In the twenty-nine other homes women greatly outnumber men, except at Oak Forest Infirmary, where, at the time of study, there were three men to every woman. More specifically, women residents in the homes under private auspices numbered approximately twenty-five hundred, compared with ten hundred men, whereas in the publicly supported institution women residents numbered only five hundred in contrast to fifteen hundred men.

There are only three very small homes for aged Negroes in Cook County—the largest with a capacity of fifteen—and men are cared for in but one of these homes. The aged Negro who needs institutional care is accepted at Oak Forest Infirmary, provided he meets the eligi-

bility requirements of residence and economic need.

The ages of the residents in thirty-two⁴ of the homes spread over a span of more than fifty years, from the youngest, who was forty-eight years, to the oldest, who was one hundred and one years. The number of residents who were younger than sixty-five years of age could be ascertained from only eight of the homes, for the reason that current statistics giving the exact age of the residents are not kept by most of the homes. The number, however, would be small, judging from the fact that only seven homes reported having a resident who was less than sixty-five years of age. The youngest was a woman of forty-eight, while next in age was a woman of fifty-five. Two fifty-nine-year-old women were living in two other homes. The youngest residents living in the three remaining homes were at least sixty years of age.

Despite their advanced age, the majority of the residents in homes for the aged are able to be up and about, and their physical condition is such that they can still enjoy life and useful activity. Rigid health requirements for admission to most of the homes result in the selection of residents who are in good physical condition, and the proportion of incapacitated residents is further reduced by the practice followed by some homes of removing residents who become so incapacitated that they require bed care. Less than a third (1,578 out of 5,000) of the persons living in the homes at the

time the study was made were bedridden. If the two homes—Chicago Home for Incurables and Oak Forest Infirmary, which admit the chronically ill as well as aged adult—are excluded from the count, the proportion of bedridden patients would be reduced to less than a tenth (290 out of 3,625 residents). Ten homes, all but three with a population of less than fifty, had no bedridden patients, and eleven others—with an average population of eighty-four—had fewer than five patients who were infirm and confined to their beds. In only two homes was the proportion of infirm and incapacitated patients a sizable one, a third or slightly higher. Yet even bedridden patients, experience has shown, can engage in passive recreational activities. Recreational opportunities are just as important for them as for active older persons.

RECREATIONAL PROGRAMS IN THE HOMES

Individuals who have worked with the aged for any length of time all agree that one of the important essentials for happiness in old age is useful or satisfying activity. In homes for the aged idleness is a problem confronting many of the residents as well as the administrators of these institutions. One means of solving the problem of idleness and its deleterious effect upon the individual is to organize a program of recreational activities.

The extent to which the need for establishing recreational and occupational activities has been recognized by administrators of homes for the aged in Cook County is indicated by the fact that a planned recreational program, varying greatly in the number and kinds of activities, existed in all but ten of the thir-

⁴ Two of the homes, the Chicago Home for Incurables and Oak Forest Infirmary, are excluded from the discussion of the ages of the residents because both institutions care for adults who are chronically ill as well as for the aged. At the time of study 146 of the 252 residents at the Home for Incurables were under sixty-five years, while at Oak Forest Infirmary 850 of the 2,100 were under sixty-five, including 20 who were less than thirty-five.

ty-four homes.⁵ Not so well recognized, however, is the importance of securing the co-operation of the residents in planning and organizing the recreational program. In only ten of the homes, where the recreational program has some semblance of being planned, do the residents participate in planning either the regular recreational activities or the celebration of some special event. Recreation committees, composed exclusively of residents, are elected or appointed in five homes, and in three instances the members of these committees meet regularly with the head of the home and give valuable assistance in planning the recreational program. Participation by the residents in the remaining five homes consists of submitting suggestions for some kind of activity or assuming responsibility for carrying out a particular event, such as an annual bazaar, a summer festival, a harvest party, etc. The special event in a few instances serves as the occasion for the sale of articles which the residents have made, with or without the guidance of a trained occupational therapist.

PLANNED RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

The number of planned activities in the twenty-four homes that had an organized recreational program range from five to twenty-five. Half the homes have less than ten types, while only two have as many as twenty-five. The various types of activities which form a part of

⁵ The persons responsible for planning the recreational activities at the twenty-four homes were:

| Individual or Group Responsible for Planning Recreation | No. of Homes |
|---|--------------|
| Staff member only | 10 |
| Board member only | 1 |
| Groups affiliated with the homes | 2 |
| Staff and affiliated groups | 2 |
| Staff and board | 1 |
| Staff and residents | 2 |
| Staff, board, and residents | 3 |
| Staff, board, and affiliated groups | 1 |
| Staff, affiliated groups, and residents | 2 |

the recreational program of the twenty-four homes is presented in Table 1.

An examination of Table 1 shows that

TABLE 1

ORGANIZED RECREATIONAL PROGRAMS IN HOMES FOR THE AGED

| Type of Activity | No. of Homes |
|--|--------------|
| <i>Games</i> | |
| Chess, checkers, dominoes | 5 |
| Cards | 7 |
| Crossword puzzles | 1 |
| Horseshoes and billiards | 1 |
| <i>Parties</i> | |
| Bingo, bunco | 7 |
| Birthday | 17 |
| Holiday celebrations | 23 |
| Coffee or tea | 11 |
| Picnics | 12 |
| Other | 5* |
| <i>Educational programs</i> | |
| Lectures | 14† |
| Editing of bulletin or paper | 5 |
| Study classes | 7 |
| <i>Social</i> | |
| Movies | 12 |
| Community sings | 14 |
| Folk dancing | 2 |
| <i>Dramatic and Musical Programs</i> | |
| Dramatics | 11 |
| Victrola concerts | 7 |
| Musicales | 20 |
| Radio programs | 10 |
| <i>Crafts</i> | |
| Woodcraft | 5 |
| Leather craft | 3 |
| Weaving | 5 |
| Painting | 5 |
| Other crafts | 4 |
| Needlework | 2 |
| <i>Religious Services</i> | 23 |
| <i>Housework</i> | 12 |
| <i>Gardening</i> | 6 |

* Bazaars were referred to by three homes; one mentioned a June Festival, another an annual costume party.

† In two instances these are principally lectures by clergymen and are chiefly religious in type.

the two activities taking place in the largest number of homes are religious services and the celebration of holidays. All but one of the twenty-four homes with an organized recreational program

provide these two types of activities as a means not only of making the last years of their residents enjoyable but also of helping them achieve a feeling of well-being. Homes under religious auspices place considerable emphasis on religious services. Daily as well as Sunday services are held in some instances. One or two of the homes have resident chaplains, but the other homes are served by visiting clergy.⁶ Many elderly persons with spiritual needs undoubtedly derive a great deal of satisfaction from attendance at religious services, especially if they go to them voluntarily. This means, whereby individuals can achieve happiness, has a rightful place in an institutional program. Meeting the spiritual needs of the aged is important.

Holidays, especially Thanksgiving and Christmas, are days when most of the homes are decorated, special meals are prepared, and entertainment of some kind is provided. The superintendent of one home stated that Christmas is a very special occasion, when it is customary to engage professional entertainers. In another home the women residents are given paper flowers on Mother's Day, and the men residents are presented with neckties on Father's Day. Another recreational activity of the "special event" type which takes place frequently in many of the homes—seventeen to be exact—are birthday parties. The ways in which these occasions are celebrated is illustrated by the following remarks.

The home has a group birthday party each month. Residents with a birthday in that month sit at the superintendent's table for dinner the night of the party. Members of the Board of

⁶ In one home, for instance, Catholic, Christian Science, Episcopal, and Lutheran services are held at least weekly, and in some seasons of the year more frequently. In another home Protestant ministers of four denominations take turns in conducting Sunday services.

Management (women) whose birthday falls in any one month entertain the residents whose birthdays are in the same month.

Birthday parties are held on the day of each resident's birth. The parties include a cake, special dinner, and some activity, such as community singing.

Birthday people invite one guest each. Everyone dresses up. A list of the people with birthdays is posted, and cards are sent them by residents and board members.

Other special events, partaking of the nature of a party, which should be mentioned are picnics held on the grounds of twelve of the twenty-four homes and afternoon teas provided by eleven homes.

Educational programs, with the exception of lectures, are available in only a handful of the homes. Seven have established classes of various kinds, including current events, French and Spanish, religious studies, and adult education. In only five homes do the residents participate in the publication of a news bulletin or paper. Older people, it has been proved, are capable of learning and of acquiring new interests; but often they have to be encouraged to undertake activities with which they are not familiar or in which they have lost interest. Encouragement at times has to be given over a long period of time before belief in their own ability is acquired.

Among recreational activities classed as social, movies are the most common, being provided by twenty-one of the homes for the aged. Their type and frequency were rarely commented upon, but that these attractions are in some instances rare treats or limited in interest would seem to be indicated by the following notations.

Movies are held periodically but at no definite time.

Movies consist of religious films and those taken by residents among themselves or of home events, i.e., bazaar, picnic, etc.

The home has no projector and has depended on the Telephone Company and other companies for free movies.

The initiative for showing movies is sometimes taken by the residents. In one home a married couple, who have traveled extensively in Europe, schedule a showing of slides on their own projector every two weeks. In addition to their own slides, to which additions are constantly being made, they occasionally present slides from the Art Institute.

Musical programs are also provided in a fairly large number of homes, twenty having such an activity. Comments such as the following give some idea of their variety.

Musicales, held weekly on Sunday afternoons in the church section, are broadcast to the home over the loudspeaker. A broadcasting system for record playing is being installed, and plans are under way for systematic programs.

The matron indicated that the programs given by the various clubs at least once weekly were of the "entertainment" variety—a mixture of music, skits, etc.

Amateur choral groups (about four times a year) offer to put on a show, and the offer is accepted.

One of the local music teachers uses the auditorium annually for a student recital. The members of the home are invited to attend.

Games, those of the sedentary type—checkers, chess, dominoes, and cards—which individuals are likely to pursue voluntarily are included in the planned recreational program of only seven homes. Where games are an organized, as distinguished from a spontaneous, activity, they often take the form of tournaments.

Arts and crafts, such as weaving, painting, wood-carving, jewelry-making, and the molding of metals and plastics, not only are useful forms of activity but

offer an opportunity for the expression of creative instincts and for the development of latent talents. Handicraft projects of one sort or another are conducted in only eight homes; at six of them the program is directed by an occupational therapist, usually on a part-time basis; at the seventh home a board member, who has had "some training" in occupational therapy, has a weekly crafts session of three hours; while at the eighth home the woman in charge of the crafts work is a seamstress who learned what she knows about handicrafts from an occupational therapist who was a former staff member of the home.

Many older people who derive little satisfaction from the more formal types of recreational activities can be interested in performing simple tasks about the home or in the garden which make them feel that they are useful and are still capable of contributing to an undertaking that seems worth while to them. Twelve of the homes have a definite plan for giving responsibility for some household task to persons who express an interest in "doing something." A number of the homes have adopted the plan of encouraging residents to act as host or hostess at their table in the dining-room. In one home the assignment of household tasks also includes watering of plants and flowers, serving as receptionist and as the matron's secretary, mending, setting the tables in the dining-room, and assisting with light work in the laundry. In still another home one of the women acts as mail carrier, which not only keeps her busy but gives her an opportunity to visit with her friends. In the same home one of the men collects and folds all wastepaper, which he sells, using the money for recreational activities outside the home. Older people who express a desire to give their time to these useful

activities should be encouraged to do so if from their performance they gain a sense of being needed and wanted.

In addition to recreational activities within the building, a few of the homes also organize such activities outside the institution proper. Visits to the parks, including Brookfield Zoo, and organized trips to the movies are planned by four homes; visits to museums by two homes; and automobile rides, provided by members of churches contributing toward the support of the institution, by two others. One home each arranges the following outside activities for their residents: bus rides, picnics in the summer, trips to a summer camp, and visits to the Jewish Community Center.

A more complete picture of the ways in which homes meet the recreational needs of the aged might be gained from the following capsule summaries of activities that take place in two homes.

At the Home for Aged Jews many activities are constantly taking place. There are religious speakers on every Friday evening or Saturday morning. All holidays are appropriately observed, and birthday parties are given for each resident. Bingo parties and pinochle tournaments are held very often. One day a week the residents participate in French relief work. Through the courtesy of Balaban and Katz free tickets are available to residents of the Home in four neighborhood movies. Lunches, arranged at various hotels by volunteers, are frequently given for small groups of residents. There is a radio in every room and an informal program of reading aloud for residents who are unable to see. They have parties in their own rooms whenever they desire them and are free to visit friends and relatives. Some of the residents help with household duties, working in the kitchen, setting tables, serving trays, running the elevators, helping in the garden, and doing errands downtown.

At the Presbyterian Home the following account of a month's planned entertainment appeared in its bulletin, "News Flashes."

January did not lack in the usual variety of entertainment given in the Home. On the ninth the birthday dinner honored fifteen, five of whom entertained guests. On the eighteenth the parlor overflowed into the rotunda when we gathered for a delightful evening program given by the Tirzetto Singers of the Drexel Park Church. . . . Special costumes created additional interest in the program. . . . The Sunday afternoon worship service of January 19 was conducted by the Business Women's Club of Fourth Church. Music by the Club Choir added to the spirit of worship. Mrs. R. S., who has given years of missionary service in the Philippines, told of experiences in a concentration camp. At the tea which followed in the dining-room, nothing was lacking in pleasant fellowship with these younger women. Their smiles and their conversation as well as their sandwiches, cookies, and hot chocolate, were heart-warming. . . . On the evening of January 22 there was a special treat—an evening with the Edgewater Male Chorus. . . . Their accompanist pleased us with her instrumental number, delightfully rendered (written by a member of the Home). Saturday afternoon, February 1, at 3 o'clock, Howard Motion Pictures presented the films *Trees to Tribune* and *Chicago Music Festival*.

UNPLANNED RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

While diversified recreational activities are organized in a planful way in only a few of the homes, unplanned leisure-time activities spontaneously carried on by the residents themselves takes place in all the homes. Some of these activities are carried out individually, others are done in a group; some occur in the institution, others outside the home. Many of the residents engage in some of the activities, but there are few participants in others. Recreational outlets which residents find for themselves are listed in Table 2.

An examination of Table 2 shows that all the homes have radios, which makes it possible for residents to listen to programs. In some homes there is a radio in every room; in others radios are provided

only in the sitting-rooms or similar gathering places for the use of residents who do not have radios of their own.

Reading newspapers, magazines, and books is another activity which occupies the time of many residents of homes for the aged. In one home each member of the group is provided with a daily newspaper of his own choice; in other homes a number of the residents buy their own

TABLE 2

UNPLANNED RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES
IN HOMES FOR THE AGED

| Type of Unplanned activity | No. of Homes |
|--|-----------------|
| <i>Within the home</i> | |
| Games | |
| Chess, checkers, dominoes | 24 |
| Cards | 27 |
| Crossword and/or jigsaw puzzles . . . | 23 |
| Reading | 33 |
| Listening to radio | 34 |
| Writing letters | 33 |
| Working on hobby | 28 |
| Gardening | 23 |
| Doing needlework | 30 |
| Having visitors | 34 |
| <i>Outside the home</i> | |
| Visiting relatives and friends | 33 |
| Taking walks | 33 |
| Shopping trips | 31 |
| Attending movies | 26 |
| Attending lodge or club meetings . . . | 25 |
| Attending religious services | 32 |

newspaper or read those subscribed to by the institution. Reading material in one home is very limited, consisting of a few donated magazines.

In most of the homes outside visitors are free to come to see their relatives or friends at any reasonable hour; in others they may visit them only during scheduled days and hours. A rather unique plan of keeping the residents in touch with young folk has been worked out at a small home in the suburbs; here all the residents have been adopted as grandfathers and grandmothers by a group of Brownies. The troop not only visits the

residents periodically but remembers them on their birthdays and joins in a wiener party with them each summer. Visiting also takes place within the homes; men residents frequently gather in their smoking-rooms or on the porches to smoke, play cards, or "just talk," while women residents visit in one another's rooms or get together in the sitting-rooms or the sun porches, perhaps with some sort of needlework in their hands.

Other spontaneous activities which occupy the time of the residents in homes for the aged and contribute to their happiness are hobbies, writing letters, and having guests for dinner.

Many of the homes not only permit but encourage their residents to seek recreation outside the institution. Visits to relatives and friends, trips to the movies, and attendance at club and lodge meetings are not uncommon. A small number of older persons who have financial means and are in reasonably good health take a vacation or leave the home for short trips. A few of the older people keep in touch with the outside world in other ways: a retired journalist continues to write short stories for sale, a former botany teacher frequently conducts nature-study courses in the community, and an enthusiastic golfer still visits a near-by course to play his favorite game alone or with a companion.

The individual activities indulged in by the residents in a few of the homes, as observed by the interviewers, are summarized as follows:

The residents are free to come and go pretty much as they please, provided the doctor believes it is safe for them to do so. Some of them shop in the neighborhood, go to near-by movies, attend churches and club and lodge meetings. They have the privilege of doing anything they want in the way of hobbies, and the institution provides a number of craft materials which

may be had at cost. Articles made by the residents are displayed in a showcase in the front vestibule. The resident keeps whatever money the article brings. One or two residents enjoy helping in the ward kitchen and are allowed to do so, and one enjoys working in the greenhouse. The residents are not required to do any work but are allowed to do it if they wish.

There was a great deal of coming and going the day I visited the home. Four women were leaving for a shopping trip in the Loop, with plans to attend a concert afterward. A large number were sitting on the front porches, rocking and talking to each other. Friends and relatives were coming to call. . . .

The residents appeared very much at home. Some were sitting around the living-room; some were in their rooms, reading or sewing; and others were in the dining-room having tea and cake. The cake was quite a culinary masterpiece, but the manager explained that it was nothing out of the ordinary, that similar pastry was provided for the daily tea party.

FACILITIES FOR RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Facilities for sociable times, useful work, or religious worship also give some indication of the thought and effort that managing officers have given to making the last years of their residents as enjoyable as possible.

Sitting-rooms for the use of the residents are provided in all but two of the homes. Some of the sitting-rooms were described as "drab," "institutional in appearance," or "not lived in," but more often they were said to be "attractively furnished" or "comfortable and home-like." Brief descriptions of such rooms in three of the homes—one small and the other two large—are presented:

The large living-room, which is used for all social purposes (as well as religious services) has a fireplace and is comfortably furnished with many overstuffed chairs, informally arranged.

A living-room is found on each of the second and third floors. The living-rooms are square, medium in size, and have windows on two sides. The women's living-room is furnished with

wicker chairs, table, settee, and an upright piano. This room is light, cheerful, and decorated with paper flowers and potted foliage. The men's room is of the same general character, except that there is less decoration and the furniture is of a heavier type.

There are two lounges on each of the four floors, where there are comfortable chairs, books, tables for playing games, and usually a radio or record player.

Twenty-five of the homes have libraries or reading-rooms; but, since no attempt was made to learn what kinds of books are available or how extensively they are read, the mere existence of a library has little meaning. Note was sometimes made of the fact that the books in some of the homes are good books, although many of them are old. In at least two of the homes the newer popular novels are purchased and added to the home's collection. Even though a home does not have a library, residents who wish to read books can borrow them from the public library. In a few of the homes mention was made of the fact that many of the residents have library cards and make good use of them.

Auditoriums, where movies are shown and special functions are held, are found in fourteen homes. Nineteen have sewing-rooms, which are used by women residents for their own purposes as well as for that of the institution. Workshops for the use of men have been installed in twelve homes. Other special facilities designed to meet the recreational needs of the residents in the homes are smoking-rooms found in fourteen homes and special game rooms in nine. Unusual recreational facilities reported by two of the homes are a summer camp and a screened-in picnic pavilion.

In view of the fact that twenty of the homes are under religious auspices, it was not surprising to find a chapel or temple in twenty-two of the homes. A number of

other homes provide for the conduct of religious services in one of the larger rooms in the institution.

In brief, it can be said that recreational facilities are adequate in some of the homes, especially in the twenty-two which have five or more kinds, but are inadequate in others, notably the four small homes which have only a sitting-room or a chapel and where the residents spend most of their time in their own rooms.

Although it is not easy for administrators of homes for the aged to meet the problems of lessened physical capacity and oftentimes of diminished desire for social contacts that come with advancing age, it is clear that older men and women are happier if they are helped to fill in their time with interesting and useful activities. Because the interests of residents in homes for the aged vary greatly, opportunities for both planned and unplanned activities ought to be made available to them. There are always some

persons who need the stimulus of planned programs; there are others who can entertain themselves, given a minimum amount of encouragement and the means of pursuing self-initiated activities.

In the planning of leisure-time activities for the aged, it needs to be remembered that they, like any other age group, differ in physical and mental capacities and in their interests and backgrounds. In other words, their individuality as persons needs to be recognized. Residents who indicate an interest in program-planning ought to be encouraged to help with it. To meet the individual needs of the aged, it is, as one superintendent expressed it, "the job of Homes for the Aged, other agencies working with the aged, and society, to help them keep up their physical and mental activity and to assist them to acquire new skills, new interests, and new knowledge. It is a tedious process and is based on maximum effort, understanding, interest, zeal, and an inspirational desire to serve."

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE EFFECT OF MODERN DEVELOPMENTS IN PUBLIC WELFARE ON PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION AND STAFF DEVELOPMENT¹

GRACE BROWNING

IN AN essay called "Appraisal of the Welfare State" an eminent historian has reminded us that leadership in the creation of the "welfare state" has been the monopoly of no one political party. He traces the evolution of governmental concern with human welfare in the United States from the demands of the Populist party through the eras of William Jennings Bryan, Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson to the New Deal and Fair Deal years. He points out that at present not only does the state stand between the individual citizen and disaster but, in a more positive fashion, it has begun to protect and advance his prosperity and happiness. He suggests that the doctrine underlying this governmental concern is "more native than the doctrine of laissez-faire whose very name advertises its foreign origin."²

In so far as this modern political doctrine has found expression in the establishment of governmental social services, the development has been neither even nor orderly, and the growth of facilities for professional education for social work has followed a pattern of response to pressing need. Both public social work and professional education have suffered from the belated and uncertain public acceptance of government's responsibility for social welfare.

The first modern state department of public welfare dates but from 1917, al-

though state institutional care of certain groups had begun much earlier. Two years later, in 1919, the American Association of Schools of Social Work was founded in an attempt to raise standards of education in the seventeen schools then in existence. The progress over the last three decades in both education and public welfare seems incredible, particularly in view of the academic skepticism concerning this new discipline and considering the general mistrust of social services in government. When the Kenyon Bill providing for a federal department of public welfare was pending before Congress in 1923, a journalist writing in *Collier's* said that the bill "should be amended so as to wipe out the Division of Social Service." The term, he said, "has come to be a sort of verbal burlap that covers all kinds of junk."³

Probably no one, save a handful of the most farsighted leaders, such as Miss Breckinridge, Miss Lathrop, and the Abbotts, foresaw in the 1920's the meaning for social-work education of the slowly changing social and economic philosophy of government.

There are now fifty-two schools or departments of social work which are members of the American Association of Schools of Social Work. Four of these are in Canada, one in Puerto Rico, and one in Hawaii, leaving forty-six in the United States. Twenty-four of these are in privately supported universities or colleges,

¹ A paper read at the National Conference of Social Work, Cleveland, Ohio, June, 1949.

² Henry Steele Commager, *New York Times Magazine*, May 15, 1949, p. 10.

³ Conveniently found in James H. Tufts, *Education and Training for Social Work* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1923), p. 100.

and twenty-two in state or municipal institutions. While other factors have entered into the increase in the number of schools of social work in recent years, there is no doubt that the passage of the Social Security Act and the beginning of a stable long-time governmental policy with regard to grants-in-aid for the development of public welfare was an important factor. Of the fifty-two schools now in the American Association, twenty-six were admitted or readmitted to membership after 1935; and it is significant that fifteen of these are in publicly supported educational institutions. In addition to the growth of membership in the American Association of Schools of Social Work, the whole movement which culminated in the establishment of the National Association of Schools of Social Administration may be said to have been a direct result of the increase in positions for college graduates in the public social services.

COURSES OFFERED

Some schools of social work have traditionally been more interested in public welfare than have others. As late as 1940 two schools were reported still to be without any courses on the subject. However, in 1944 the adoption of the report of the Curriculum Committee of the American Association of Schools of Social Work firmly intrenched public welfare as a basic subject-matter area in which every member-school must offer some course content. The extent to which schools have increased their offerings is all the more remarkable in view of the simultaneous pressures to increase content in other special fields.

A rough tabulation of graduate courses dealing exclusively with public welfare, made from recent announcements of two-year schools in the United States, in-

dicates that the average number of such courses offered per school was 4.2, exclusive of field-work courses. The range in number of courses for all schools was from only one in three schools to as many as eleven in another. The courses included in this tabulation deal with knowledge and methods in public assistance, public child care, probation, parole, penal administration, social work in the schools, public housing, social insurance, and public welfare administration. Arbitrarily excluded from the count were courses in criminology and juvenile delinquency, which seemed primarily sociological in approach. Also excluded were general courses in public administration and those in public health and rehabilitation. No tabulation was attempted of the many short courses and the noncredit institutes offered by the schools of social work for employed personnel in public welfare agencies.

Of course, factors other than interest enter into determining what a school offers under separate course titles. These include such factors as the size of the school faculty and the student body and the point of view of the particular school concerning its major responsibilities. Also in many of the newer, and especially in the smaller, schools the curriculum has been built in line with current thinking about a sound core curriculum of courses for all students—one which cuts across divisions of the field. For example, in many schools all case-work courses are generic, except one or two advanced seminars for students who expect to practice in some specialized type of agency. Many courses in administration are generic, embodying general principles of administration and helping the student see their application to various kinds of agencies. Community organization and group-work courses tend to focus on

process more than on setting. However, teaching materials in all methods courses, except possibly those in group work, may be heavily weighted with material from public agencies. Likewise, courses called "social welfare organization," "history of social work," "child welfare" and general courses in housing, treatment of delinquency, and law and social work have a heavy component of public welfare content.

Not only have course offerings been increased in many schools of social work, but the content of almost all courses has been enriched immeasurably by the materials that are emanating from public welfare practice. The experience of public agencies in community organization and in large-scale agency and personnel administration have been wellsprings from which all social-work practice has drawn.

KNOWLEDGE AND SKILL

One of the most significant factors in shaping the professional curriculum is the increase in the range of knowledge now expected as part of the equipment of the professional worker. Indeed, in the field of public welfare alone, the mass of material that reaches the desk of the instructor is almost overwhelming. He receives government documents from a half-dozen federal bureaus interested in health and welfare and from the states, territories, and local units and special studies, manuals, periodicals, and books in the fields of national, state, and international welfare, to say nothing of the avalanche of pending legislation from Congress and state legislatures. Before having solved the old problems of almshouse care, the jails, prisons, courts, mental hospitals, or of local poor relief, government has had to enter the areas of social insurance, public assistance, child welfare, public health and medical care,

vocational rehabilitation, and extramural mental hygiene. In a public welfare class not long ago, a beginning student said: "If you want to specialize go into a voluntary agency." The class was quick to point out that no special field of social work could be found which was not somewhere a part of government service.

The provost of Carnegie Institute of Technology recently said to an interprofessions conference on education for professional responsibility that "in the humanistic and social as well as in the professional field, what is important for the student to possess on graduation is not immediate knowledge but the ability to acquire the knowledge that he needs at the time that he needs it."⁴

In public welfare courses, as, indeed, in all social-work education, the teacher must reduce the amount of immediate knowledge required, so that the students may be taught how to acquire specific knowledge needed at a given time or in a given jurisdiction as well as how to utilize that knowledge.

One of the unique contributions of social-work education to methods of professional education in general has been the development and use of field-work courses for the transmission of skills. And so in preparation for public welfare the use of field-work placements in public agencies is tremendously important. Professional education for social work has never deviated from its belief that skills in human relationships, which constitute the heart of each of the social-work processes, whether it be case work, group work, community organization, or administration, are as essential in social-work positions in the public social agency

⁴ Elliott Dunlap Smith, "The Education of Professional Students for Citizenship," *Education for Professional Responsibility* (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Press, 1948), p. 194.

as in the voluntary agency. There are, of course, many positions within the framework of public welfare that require education in law, medicine, accounting, or other disciplines; but the largest number of persons dealing directly with recipients of services and the administrators of those services are performing social-work functions. Government's new relationship to its citizens in the last analysis will be judged primarily by the skill of the individual representative of government who meets the applicant and who sets in motion the helping process. Therefore, from one-third to one-half of the time of each graduate student in a school of social work is spent in acquiring skill in one or more of the social-work processes through field-work courses.

SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY AND GENERAL EDUCATION

In addition to imparting knowledge and teaching skills, a third and perhaps the major responsibility of professional education is that of helping the student to develop an understanding of the philosophy of social work and public welfare and some important ethical values in relation to his own role and the role of his agency within the framework of government.

Perhaps, because of the nature of the service, educators in social work have always been concerned with more than the teaching of techniques. In his presidential address to this conference in 1946, the late Kenneth Pray said that "what we now most need in social work are workmanship and statemanship." The latter is much harder to develop than the former, but both are dependent on the whole educational process and not on the graduate school alone.

Sir Richard Livingstone has said: "If you wished to destroy modern civiliza-

tion the most effective way to do it would be to abolish universities. They stand at the centre. The education they give moulds the outlook of all educated men and this affects politics, administration, the professions, industry and commerce. . . . Their influence is increasing and will increase unless there is a collapse of modern civilization. They have an influence on our world which is almost as great as that of the Church in the Middle Ages and in many ways is a similar influence. . . ."⁵

The American system of education has, however, taken quite a different turn from the developments in Great Britain, where until very recent years the trained leadership came almost entirely from the upper economic classes. Here in our own country has been developed a great system of publicly supported universities and agricultural colleges, and a wide range of vocations and professions has claimed attention and support as part of the system of higher education.

The early leaders in education for social work were quick to see the advantages, for a struggling and little-recognized profession, of becoming a part of an accredited educational institution, and so there has been a steady trend away from independent schools or institutes toward incorporation into colleges and universities until at present every member-school in the American Association of Schools of Social Work is part of such a college or university. As the schools have moved their professional curriculums to the two or more postbaccalaureate years, it has been with an awareness that all education should be a social process and that practitioners of social work should receive as much of their education as pos-

⁵ *Some Thoughts on a University Education* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1948), pp. 7-8.

sible in the liberal-arts colleges, which have inherited and modified the traditions of the European universities.

Social-work educators have necessarily had to become informed about and concerned with trends in college curriculums, since the college years are so important in shaping the men and women who enter graduate schools. Hopefully, if well selected, the student will come to the professional school with much of his social philosophy already acquired and with a great deal of the knowledge that he will use as a foundation for his professional work. One of the ways in which the professional schools have tried to make room for the ever increasing content of a growing profession is by insisting that students come better prepared in the natural sciences, the social sciences, and the humanities. The effectiveness of this general education is largely dependent upon the quality of the teaching in the college from which the student comes and on the flexibility of the curriculum there.

Livingstone once asked an eminent banker what subjects a man who wished to go into business should study at the university. The man replied, "economics, and of course, philosophy." Said Professor Livingstone:

But it is a question not merely of the subjects to be studied but the way in which we study them. Salt can lose its savour; the humanities can lose their humanity. Education continually tends to degenerate into technique, and the life tends to go out of all subjects when they become technical. . . . It is possible to read history and get a history scholarship and an honours degree in it without divining the depths that lie beneath laws and wars, diplomacy and institutions, or hearing behind the tumult and the shouting the still sad music of humanity. . . .⁶

He believes that, while "a university education should have wide aims and a

sense of practical needs, its graduates should go into life not so much expert in the battle lines and tactics of the moment as conscious of the deeper issues at stake and the values involved in them."

Another reason for the concern of social work with general education is that from among the products of the colleges and from the other professional schools will come many of the community leaders who will either forward the realization of basic human rights or will block that realization.

In the postwar years there has been a number of faculty studies of educational goals and curriculums, and many books have been published by committees and by individual critics of education. These include such well-known studies as the Harvard report on *Education in a Free Society* and President Conant's *Education in a Divided World*, as well as the *Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education*. Many of these studies reappraise the role of the secondary school, the college, and the university in the preparation for citizenship, and most of them contain recommendations for changes that will help achieve the goals of social democracy within the framework of a highly competitive, industrialized society.

The amount of liberal-arts education required by many professions has gradually been increased, and in some universities departmental lines are being broken down and the curriculum reshaped in order to reach all students with some of the course content needed to develop them as future good citizens of a democracy. However, many leaders in politics, business, and even in the professions are still not receiving the kind of training for citizenship that the best educators consider desirable; and many schools of social work, pressed by the needs of the

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

field, are still accepting for graduate study students without good undergraduate preparation. Some of the energies and precious time of the professional school are therefore still going into trying to teach government or economics or otherwise fill gaps in the education of certain students.

INCREASING THE SUPPLY

Educators and administrators alike know that there are not enough graduates of schools of social work to meet needs in either the voluntary or the public social services. The whole profession is concerned with finding remedies, so that it is with great temerity that a few observations are offered here relating to this question.

I have suggested that the education of the professional worker should begin in the colleges and should continue through a minimum of two graduate years. It should also continue in a less formal way throughout the professional life of each individual worker. The leadership which federal agencies have given to the states in creating and putting into operation dynamic programs of staff development has constituted a major contribution to education and to practice.

A well-planned program of staff development, financed and manned by the agency but making appropriate use of the resources of the college and professional schools, is most important in attracting and retaining qualified personnel. There is general agreement that the development of staff is dependent primarily on good day-to-day supervision. Selection of individuals for educational leave and the placement of all personnel within the agency should be carefully related to the plan of staff development. A relatively small number of graduates of schools of social work are available to

enter the public services each year. It is unfortunate that the need for workers has been so pressing that recent graduates are often employed immediately in positions of great responsibility, sometimes without consultation with the school in advance of their assignment. It should be expected, however, that most graduates of schools of social work will be prepared after a relatively short period of experience in a subordinate position to furnish leadership and to participate in furthering the learning of those workers who come to the agency staff without professional education.

Although governmental responsibilities have been rapidly expanded through federal leadership and funds, this expansion has not been accompanied by any consistent or adequate governmental provisions for helping to increase opportunities for education either through subsidies to schools or through a general scholarship program. The few stipends that have been available for preparation of workers for public welfare have been earmarked, program by program. Leading educators see the development of national scholarships for college and professional education as part of the answer to meeting the critical shortages in all professions. Such a program would remove the very real economic barriers that now prevent many able students from attaining higher education and/or professional education. Recent experience with educational benefits for veterans has demonstrated the value of a large-scale, publicly financed scholarship program.

The extension of the social insurances would greatly relieve the shortage existing at present in public assistance agencies and should release many qualified workers for other public welfare programs. We should not plan a permanent

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educational system on the assumption that it will be necessary to continue to furnish minimum maintenance on the basis of a means test to large portions of our population, even though we recognize that some provision for public assistance may always be necessary.

Meantime when persons with professional education are not available to fill positions in sufficient numbers, there is need of a vigorous recruitment program in every state to attract as many college graduates as possible with a good general education and a knowledge of the social sciences either to take beginning positions or to enter graduate schools of social work. Now, when there is full employment, is the time to remedy those merit systems which are weakened by veteran's preference provisions and to see that recognition in promotion and in the salary scale is given to varying degrees of competence and preparation.

When a task is difficult, quarrels are likely to ensue among persons seriously concerned with the same objectives. And so there have been a number of difficulties within the last few years over standards of accreditation for social-work education, and some public welfare administrators have tended to blame adherence to graduate standards for the shortage of available personnel or to generalize concerning the defects in professional education from a few instances of unsuccessful workers. On the other hand, schools of social work are inclined to think that such factors as the limited number of field-work placements and the shortage of teachers are restricting expansion, as well as the keen competition for able students among the various professions.

Basic to interesting young people in careers in the public social services is the question of improving the quality of those services. In answer to the question,

"What is democracy," the president of Harvard University has said that it is "in part a fact, in part a dream and the latter is as important as the former,"⁷ and so it is with public welfare. The economic and social rights of man and government's attempt to help him realize those rights through social-insurance measures, maintenance assistance, and the extension of other public social services are in a transitional and incomplete state.

Statements concerning the right of all people to a basic minimum of wages, to decent housing, to protection from social and economic hazards, and, when needed, to assistance unconditionally granted and compatible with decency and health have a hollow ring to the student who is taking field work in an agency where these rights are not taken for granted. Sometimes the discrepancy occurs because many of the agency workers have had a different kind of education and have another set of beliefs and attitudes concerning these rights, while in other instances they are vitiated by weak administration or by the failure of the community to accept and implement them.

Not long ago a teacher (with great conviction about public welfare) in concluding a semester's course in public welfare, in which most of the students were having field work in a county welfare department, used the last session for a frank discussion of what they were thinking at that point about public welfare agencies. One student opened the discussion by saying, "I wouldn't work in public assistance for anything, there is too much red tape in all those categories." Others referred to high case loads and to the lack of professional supervision. A serious, thoughtful girl said

⁷ James Bryant Conant, *Education in a Divided World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948), p. 2.

in a troubled tone that she had been concerned about the long delays in getting assistance to people and thought that she could not bear to work where aid was not promptly available for persons in need. Another student said, "I should like to work in public welfare if I could have a federal agency job." On the other hand, several students seemed to have caught the flame of awareness of the immense progress that has been made. One said definitely, "Maybe public welfare isn't perfect, but how is it going to get better if trained workers won't take jobs?" And another said she was going to work in public welfare because "that's where you can help the greatest number of people who need help."

This discussion merely epitomizes the discrepancy that exists at present between our ideals and our spotty practice. The young student may grasp on an intellectual level the differences between the intent of liberal legislation and federal policy and what is actually done under more restrictive state legislation and local administration. But much help must be given to him by the school and later by the agency in achieving an emotional understanding of these discrepancies, and he must be helped to see that progress is being made.

The role of the professional school in the development of leadership is difficult but vital. It must help the student to relate his general education to his professional knowledge and skill so that the result is an integrated whole. The usual professional school faculty feels a serious responsibility to keep ahead of practice, to advance the frontiers of knowledge through research, and to participate actively in many areas of public service. The schools are frequently criticized as not having firsthand knowledge of modern public welfare; but most schools have added to their faculties several per-

sons with recent public welfare experience, and, while it is not easy to move into practice again from time to time as many faculty members would like to do, most of them are participating in various ways in activities of public welfare agencies.

The impact of professional education on modern developments in public welfare has been as great as the impact of public welfare on professional education. Academic freedom of thought and the creative imagination of scholars and educators must continue to be brought to bear on practical problems of politics as they were in the juvenile court movement, the early mothers' pension program, the establishment of the United States Children's Bureau, and the writing of subsequent social legislation. The human rights which we are discussing here were taught in the classroom by many social workers and social scientists and were enunciated in dissenting opinions of jurists long before they achieved recognition in statute and governmental policy.

The goal will not be reached by this generation. Today's students are the raw material of the future. From them must come the social statesmen who will push forward the unrealized concepts of the present. It is the matter of finding, guiding, and developing able students that challenges the best skill of educators and administrators. The schools of social work are not strong enough—they have not teachers enough, wisdom enough, or money enough to do it alone. They must have the support of our best educational institutions and of the practitioners' associations to improve present standards and to elevate and maintain the public welfare services and professional education for them on a level worthy of democratic government.

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FAMILY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONALITY¹

RUTH SMALLEY

IT IS difficult to look at the "family" without viewing it either as a unit of social organization, which it is, but which leaves us considering it with a kind of dispassionate objectivity which seems to rob it of its live and human quality and to remove it from our personal knowledge and experience with it, or as a group of specific people, our own family, so intimately known by us as to seem to have little or nothing in common with "the family" as experienced by anyone else.

It is my hope that, in reacting to what I have written, we may think of the family as we have known it for ourselves, as we have known it in our relationships and work with families other than our own, and as we have conceived it as a "social institution" having great significance for our times.

Recent writers from the fields of sociology, psychology, anthropology, psychiatry, and psychoanalysis have expressed their views on the family as it functions in society today in an interesting book entitled *The Family: Its Function and Destiny*, planned and edited by Ruth Anshen and published just this year. In his chapter in that volume, "The Natural History of the Family," Ralph Linton comments that modern civilization has stripped the family of many of its functions which once reinforced the bond between its members. The consanguine family unit—based on ties of blood relationship (consisting of our "uncles

and our cousins and our aunts")—he envisions as losing its significance as a social unit; but the conjugal family relationship—based on marriage and the bearing of children—he sees as enduring, and he concludes his interesting chapter in the following way: "The ancient trinity of father, mother, and child has survived more vicissitudes than any other human relationship. It is the bedrock underlying all other family structures. . . . In the Götterdämmerung which overwise science and over-foolish statesmanship are preparing for us, the last man will spend his last hours searching for his wife and child."²

Ruth Benedict, in describing "The Family: Genus Americanum," tells us that "the family in the United States is an institution remarkably adapted to our treasured way of life. The changes that are occurring in it do not mean that it is decaying and needs to be saved."³ Miss Benedict makes a plea for tax-supported programs which will encourage the rearing of children. She stresses the importance of emphasizing the responsibilities which the members of a family need to assume as a necessary parallel to the privileges that they enjoy by virtue of being members of an American family: "Americans, in order to get the maximum happiness out of such a free institution as the family in the United States, need to parallel their privileges with an awakening responsibility. It is hard to

² Ruth Nanda Anshen, *The Family* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1949), p. 38.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

¹ A paper read at the Indiana State Conference on Social Welfare, October 5, 1949.

live up to being so privileged as we are in the United States, but it is not impossible."⁴

Denis de Rougemont, writing in the same volume on "The Crisis of the Modern Couple," describes that crisis as being the over stressing in our culture of romance and passion as the basis for marriage and the establishment of a family. He states his thesis by saying that "romance is by its very nature incompatible with marriage even if the one has led to the other, for it is the very essence of romance to thrive on obstacles, delays, separations, and dreams, whereas it is the basic function of marriage daily to reduce and obliterate these obstacles, for marriage succeeds only in constant physical proximity to the monotonous present."⁵ He deplores the part that the "cinema and mediocre literature" have played in perpetuating the fashion of romance and has the following suggestions to make to help the family establish itself as the kind of unit offering the stability and values necessary for the personal and social development of the individuals who comprise it:

We should . . . point out to young people that, valuable though it is, romance is by its very nature incapable of establishing a durable marriage, and that it is not an act of courage but one of absurdity to marry some one forever because of a fever that endures for two months. . . . Those who write and speak in our day can do well by formulating the values which are found to correspond to a new social realism, while abrogating the illusion of romanticism. They can help by showing that such values as sworn fidelity, practical alliance, the very adventure of a project undertaken in common and at all risks, a mutual purpose—completely apart from what Proust calls the intermittent heart, and apart from the play of emotions which come and go like the clouds—are the true pattern of the century; they can portray their excellence and perhaps even their heroic qualities.⁶

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 325.

Dr. Therese Benedek, psychoanalyst, describing "The Emotional Structure of the Family," considers the prevalent emotional disturbances of our own era what we call "character disturbance" and "depression": "Too many children incorporate the doubts and conflicts of their parents in such a way that, in specific areas of their personalities, they do not learn to distinguish right from wrong. . . . For society, however high the degree of individuation it permits, at the same time also requires that the individual conform. No wonder there are clashes between the attempts of individualism and the requirements of society."⁷

Erich Fromm, writing on "Sex and Character," emphasizes that "natural differences," such as the difference of sex, which may be conducive to men's craving prestige and competitive success and to women's seeking the security of being given love and satisfaction, are blended with the difference brought about by the specific culture in which people live. He urges that we not equate difference with superiority or inferiority but that social conditions be created which will develop the positive side of the peculiarities of persons, sexes, and national groups, concluding with the statement that "these conditions are needed all over the world. If they are realized, those differences of one person from another will be accentuated which are not matters of the good or bad, but rather the individual colorings of personality which make for a richer and broader human culture and a more integrated family structure."⁸

Taken all together, these and other contributions from professional literature, plus my own experiences and summations, have led me to certain conclusions.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 333.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 392.

sions about the family of today which I shall try to share with you as a basis for your own thinking and questioning.

We all know some of the values which the family, better than any social unit yet devised, can hold for individual growth of a kind that makes possible both the development of individual abilities and powers and the capacity to function as a member of society.

The family has undergone and is undergoing change; and this change is away from a paternalistic authoritarian pattern, within which women were dependent on their husbands for their ideas as well as their support and children were to be "seen and not heard," toward the kind of social-group pattern within which the development of each individual as an individual, *but as an individual functioning as a member of a group*, becomes the desideratum. Yet, despite and throughout this change, certain of the traditional values of family life for individual and social development have remained constant.

The family provides, first of all, stability and security for its members. The newborn baby and the growing child—up to middle adolescence—cannot survive as individuals apart from some supporting group. Their physical existence requires some measure of dependence on the efforts of others in their behalf. When their survival is made possible by the activities of one or two persons—the same one or two persons over all their early years—they develop the feeling that "people can be counted on," and their anxiety about physical survival is lessened to a degree that permits them to be preoccupied with other matters necessary for their rounded development. It is well known that the gangs of homeless children who roamed Europe after the last war, existing as best they could on

scraps, roots, and berries and sleeping in forests or in the streets of towns, were so preoccupied with struggling to survive that their capacity for developing relationships with other people or interests in anything other than searching and grabbing for food became seriously impaired.

And when the one or two persons assuming responsibility for their physical survival are well disposed toward the infant and the young child and in the bargain love them and meet their affectional needs, they can develop the further attitude that "people are kindly and well-intentioned." Both these attitudes will be reinforced—and also tempered—by later or perhaps concurrent experiences with people, some of whom can and some of whom cannot be counted on and some of whom will and some of whom will not be well disposed toward them; and this will help them to develop a healthy caution and reservation in their social relationships. But an expectation and reliance on people-in-general being dependable and kindly—developed out of experiences in impressionable and formative early years with those people whom the child knew best and who provided him with his basic pattern for people-in-general—can lead to the development of those qualities of personality conducive to his being able to function with confidence and trust in later social relationships.

Not only can he best develop confident attitudes toward other people because of his experience within his own family group, but, through identification—wanting to be like the persons he loves—he can develop the characteristics of dependability and kindness himself.

It has been demonstrated that institutional care for infants and young children—however much it may provide for

physical well-being and express a spirit of kindness—lacks the intensity and personalization of relationship necessary for the child's healthy emotional experiencing of love and protection and use of them for his own personality development.

Some interesting films, seeking to convey the importance, for growth and development, of the infant's being loved and cared for within a family group and by his mother, have been produced as part of a series by Dr. René Spitz, entitled "Studies of the Psychoanalytic Research Project on Problems in Infancy." The description of the film *Somatic Consequences of Emotional Starvation in Infants* indicates the physical consequences of early emotional deprivation which are portrayed in the film. The consequences in warping and distortions of personality are well known. The Film Library of New York University has this to say about the film to which I have referred:

Five pairs of children, each pair age-matched within one week, are compared. Each pair consists of (a) a desired, loved child in a comfortable middle class environment, (b) a waif raised by its mother in an excellently appointed foundling home with good hygienic care and adequate food during the first four months of life. The activities of these ten children are shown during the first five months. Their behavior illustrates that the development of the children in the two environments does not differ significantly. The second part of the motion picture shows the comparison between the children raised in families and the foundling home children at age levels between 13 and 14 months. While the family children continue to be raised in an atmosphere of happy emotional interchange by their parents, the institutionalized children were separated from their mothers around the age of 5 months. From here on an average of 10 institutionalized children were cared for by one trained nurse. Accordingly, the children were deprived of all opportunity of emotional interchange. A comparison age for age between the behavior of the family children and that of

the institutionalized children is shown. The ravages wrought by the emotional deprivation of the institutionalized children is vividly illustrated in their extreme bodily retardation, in their progressive mental deterioration, and in their lowered resistance to disease.

And the film *The Smile of the Baby* is described in the following way:

An experimental study, this film shows the first stage of the infant's response to the human being in babies two to six months old from a group of 115 unselected children. A number of experiments with babies who smile at faces, masks, and movement are shown. Some babies do not smile, as a rejected child in the presence of its mother. Mothers are shown feeding babies, bathing, and dressing them. The film indicates that the love of the parents creates a special atmosphere about the baby which he associates with pleasure, play, food, and relief from discomfort. His security, satisfaction, and happiness coincide with the presence of the mother and her love gives him a positive attitude toward society, making him a friendly, socially secure human being.

When things go wrong in a family group, the results can be devastating for physical and emotional development of family members. Yet nowhere can things going right yield such potential for healthy development. And to deprive individuals of family life altogether is to run the risk of making them inhuman.

It is within the family group that the child can experience not only the love and security he needs for his healthy physical and emotional development but an acceptance of himself in his likeness and difference from other people as well—an acceptance that can make for a later ability to accept likeness and difference in others, rather than to a constraint to make others like himself or to feel and perhaps attack them as "bad" or "inferior" because they are different.

In the family, which offers the maximum opportunities for growth, the child is able to like some foods and dislike others, to be a slow learner or a fast

learner, athletic or studious, shy or outgoing, physically attractive or unattractive—and still feel accepted and valued as a person. It is only as a child in the family group that we do not have to “earn” love and respect. We are loved, as Dr. James Plant used to say, not for “*What we are*” but for “*Who we are*”—the child of our parents. This is not to say that expectations of behavior are not held for us. They are and should be, and there is something right and developing about our having to pay our way in later relationships—by being the kind of person who merits the love and respect that we all seek and need. But in the first relationship within the primary family group, self-respect is developed because we are valued, accepted, loved, and respected as a person regardless of our eccentricities or shortcomings. And this self-respect and toleration of our own “difference,” because it was tolerated and respected by those who were so important to us, help us to feel tolerance and acceptance of the difference in others.

It is within the family group that we develop an awareness of our own sex—of the social role which will be ours because of our sex and an identification with that role, so that we can find dignity and value in our full development as a man or as a woman—because the man or woman who provided the pattern of masculinity or femininity for us found dignity and value in his role.

Similarly, it is within the family that we can learn to seek for our own completion through relationship with a person of the opposite sex if our parents found such completion in each other and if we could value, because of the kind of person who represented it, not only our own sex but the sex of the person chosen for partner by our mother or father.

It is within the family that we learn the important and never completely mastered lesson of sharing. Beginning with a longing to be the one and only love and interest of our mother, we learn to give up our “everything or nothing it’s got to be” demand of her and to “settle for something”—to appreciate that our brothers and sisters and our father can count with her, that obligations and interests occupy her—without its meaning we have *no* place. And, philosophically accepting what is ours with her, we ourselves develop interests and find persons to love which satisfy the various aspects and facets of our personalities.

Finally, it is within the family that we can best learn to function responsibly and socially. From the time that we are a few weeks old, expectations of behavior are held for us—appropriate to our changing capacities—which will insure not only our individual development but our social development as well. The family is the first and greatest “socializer.” I am prepared to say the only real socializer, since necessary limits on the expression of our impulsive selves in the interest of the welfare of others and the group-as-a-whole can be incorporated and become an integrated part of us only if they are administered by persons who love us and whom we love. It is this love which pays us originally for sacrificing some of our “wanting what we want when we want it.” Otherwise, limits remain forever outside us—“arbitrary and unjust” restrictions imposed by persons ill-disposed toward us—which we are destined to fight, evade, or give mere lip service to the rest of our lives.

In describing the kind of opportunity for personal and social development which the family—and the family alone—can make possible, I may seem to have been painting an idyllic picture of what

family life is like. And, indeed, it is the "ideal family" of which I have been writing: two parents who experience a mature love for each other and their children and who exercise wisdom and judgment in family relationships over the total period of the children's years of growth toward maturity.

Most family situations contain sufficient deviations from this "average which is never reached" to make life challenging and exciting for parents and children alike—to give full play to the tremendous adaptive capacities and impulses toward healthy growth which all of us possess and which enable us to use imperfect situations for health and creativity so long as the necessary minimum of positive opportunity is there. Life cannot be too easy if our full powers to deal with it are to have a chance to come into play; but it must not be too tough either, or discouragement, distrust, and anxiety may outweigh the hope and confidence in ourselves and in others that are necessary to deal with adverse circumstance.

I have been writing as though opportunity for growth referred only to the growth of children within the family. Significant and vital as that is, opportunities for the growth and development of adult members of the family are equally vital; for growth is not synonymous with physical maturation. Growth means learning, meeting and dealing with new situations. And opportunities for meeting and dealing with new situations—which yield the potential for creative self-development—are ours as long as we live. Nowhere do we have such rich opportunity for learning to "organize and operate ourselves" (in the words of a well-known embryologist) as within the intimate, stable, yet ever changing relationships of the family group. And nowhere but in a family group do adults continue

to find the love and security which enable them to function in a kindly and self-confident way both within the family and in other social relationships. The family, then, is a unit of persons, living together over a period of years, which gives to the individuals who comprise it—both adults and children—emotional satisfactions and support and opportunities for developing and testing out capacities for individual achievement and social relationships to a greater degree than any other kind of social unit which can be envisioned.

What seems to have been too much neglected in modern family life—perhaps as a pendulum-swing away from the patriarchal authoritative family pattern of our forbears—is the sense of responsibility that each individual family member needs to be helped to develop—responsibility for his own continued growth and development, responsibility as a family member to carry his weight in the family, appropriate to his age, capacity, and role within it, and so to learn to carry his weight in the larger world.

Our national swing toward individuation: developing one's own personality and interests free from hampering social restraints formerly too strictly and rigidly enforced, perhaps—desirable as that swing is—has not always been accompanied by an equal appreciation of the social responsibility which must attend individual freedom if anarchy is not to result. And this is particularly true for the emphasis on individuation within the family group.

Social workers have rich opportunity to work for and implement social welfare provisions which shall strengthen the family as a unit in our society. They have opportunity to stress the significance of the love and security for children, as well as adults, which can best be found within

the family group. They have an opportunity, also, to help members of families consider their responsibilities as well as their rights as such members. The day has gone when we can excuse failure to meet today's problems adequately because of lacks in our own developmental experiences in the early years. I recall the shock which I experienced on hearing an acquaintance say glibly, apropos of some destructive action on her part: "Of course, I hate women; my mother never loved me." Because of what we know of the capacity of individuals constantly to create and re-create themselves out of their current life-experiences, we must hold ourselves and those with whom we deal accountable for the most responsible functioning of which we and they are capable. This, to be effective in our work with others, must be done with warm and human consideration of the problem that there can be in "being responsible"—of factors in early-life experiences which may make being responsible more difficult for some persons than for others, of the ambivalence we all can feel about it—and with a realistic expectation of what constitutes responsible behavior for a given person at a given time. But, as a people, we have erred in recent years not in expecting too much of ourselves and others but in expecting too little. And I believe that this is particularly true of social workers in relation to clients. Aware of the damage to growth that can result from deprivation, we have tended to excuse clients, who may have experienced deprivation, from any responsibility for themselves. We have tried to make up to them for earlier lacks and losses by taking their lives out of their hands—and then thinking and doing for them. We are not complimentary when we assume irresponsibility and incapacity in another human being because he has come to a

social agency seeking help. We fail to appreciate the strength out of which he has come, the strength which has impelled him to do something about a bad situation. We operate on the premise of a "client-class" psychology which is false and which ignores the fact that intelligence, resourcefulness, and courage are not confined to social workers or to clients or to any one group, race, sex, or nationality but are present in varying degrees in us all. If life has failed the client of a social agency earlier, we are failing him today unless we expect of him the most of which he is capable, while making available a relationship of warmth and consideration, all our skill, and the resources of the agency we represent to help him realize that "most of which he is capable."

Some of the writings of Robert Gomberg, Herbert Aptekar, and others in the private family case-work field have put significant stress on appreciating the unique role in the family of each family member and on insuring, through agency policy and structure and through the use of the social case-work skill, that each member is helped to fulfil his family role responsibly. We no longer confine our social-work activity to that family member who is the best talker or the most accessible or the most competent. We relate sensitively to all family members concerned with the problem that has resulted in social agency service, and we expect and require of all who are part of it responsible activity toward the solution of that problem.

As family members and as a people we are faced with the challenge to grow up—not to go backward to a surface conformity to social demands through fear of a dominating patriarchal figure, not to go "sideways" in an evasion of responsibility out of defiance and protest against

such a figure, but to go forward to an acceptance of responsibility as something self-chosen, in order that we may be masters of ourselves—individuals who have achieved a personal development which includes and involves a truly social development. It is this “growing up” which the family—through continuing to provide the kind of traditional values de-

scribed in this paper—has an excellent chance to foster for the individuals who comprise it. It is this “growing up” of its people upon which the success of our democracy is contingent. The opportunities of social workers are many to help families further it for their members.

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CURRENT CONFLICTS IN THE APPROACH TO COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

RUDOLPH T. DANSTEDT

THE last several months have seen such an interesting variety of pamphlets, articles, and editorials on the specific subject of the federation of campaigns for health and welfare services and the more general subject of community organization that it leads one to wonder on occasion if the golden age of pamphleteering may not have returned. Certainly, it is an interesting phenomenon that a number of writers, some of them anonymous, appear recently to have been to Mount Sinai and to have come down with declarations as to how our health and welfare services should be operated, financed, and related to one another. Some time ago Wayne McMillen predicted that the most important developments in social work in the next fifty years may well be in the field of community organization. There are many of us, I am sure, who hope that he may be a true prophet, for there is certainly need right now for innovation, discovery, and invention in the organization of health and welfare services and in the structure or structures for relating these services.

At the 1948 New York State Conference of Social Work, Dr. Eveline M. Burns of the faculty of the New York School of Social Work discussed "Trends in Public and Private Agency Service." In her presentation Dr. Burns apologized quite extensively for the extent to which her address was studded with question marks and indicated as an explanation: "The disturbing thing about the present situation is that on so many of these major issues, we have so little factual mate-

rial on which to base an answer. As a profession, we are badly lacking in basic research." In her address Dr. Burns further commented: "Do we still think of community organization as being concerned primarily with organizations, the existing public and private agencies, or are we vitally interested in organizing the community as a whole, even though some of these other groups do not share all of our social values or understand the language we use when we consort only with our own kind?"¹

It is perhaps obvious that this article has been prompted by certain material that has appeared recently on the subject of federation and certain broader problems of community organization and planning. Certain very basic issues in the area of federation, defined broadly as a joint community approach to community planning and money-raising, were presented by Ralph Blanchard, executive director of the Community Chests and Councils, in a pamphlet entitled *The Future of Federation*. While this pamphlet is directed toward federation as broadly defined, it naturally and understandably emphasizes the current difficult and complicated problem of broadening federated appeals for financing voluntary agencies. In this pamphlet Mr. Blanchard observes that voluntary social work in the United States has grown and become strong through participation in the type of federated money-raising campaign represented by the Community Chest.

¹ Eveline M. Burns, "Trends in Public and Private Agency Service," *Proceedings of New York State Conference on Social Work, 1948*.

Because federation is "a philosophy, a way of life that is part and parcel of our political, social and economic structure,"² Mr. Blanchard predicts that the future of voluntary social work will continue to depend upon this federated approach, and he argues that there is a clear and present necessity from both the agency and the contributor standpoint to extend the coverage of federation, as has been done in certain critical instances in the past, so as to provide within one campaign the broadest possible financial coverage for voluntary programs.

Quite close on the heels of this pamphlet, with its "Red Feather," came another one decorated with the Red Cross and entitled *The Case for Freedom in Welfare Fund Raising*. This Red Cross pamphlet confines itself largely to the fund-raising aspect of federation and maintains that the advocates of such federation are attempting to coerce independent money-raising groups to align themselves with "a national authority"—in which would be vested the authority to guide and direct all welfare fund raising and, therefore, program activities for the entire country.³

No profound study is required to conclude that we are as likely to get such a national authority for the health and welfare field as we are to get one federal tax covering all the obligations of government that are assessed against us. On the other hand, we believe that it ought to be possible to find somewhere a delicate balance in the local community between complete agency autonomy and community anarchy in planning, budgeting, and financing and that form of co-ordination

often described as amalgamation in which every agency is to all practical purposes an administrative unit of the central body with its board of directors primarily functioning as an advisory committee. We probably have come closer to finding what we need in the area of planning than we have in the area of financing, perhaps because of the advisory nature of planning and the consequent lack of threat it presents to agency autonomy. It would be worth while, in our opinion, to speculate on the suggestion made about fifteen years ago by the late Pierce Atwater, then director of the Chicago Community Fund. Mr. Atwater raised a question as to how far one campaign in a metropolitan community can be extended to cover the needs of all voluntary agencies and suggested as follows:

What we need to develop is a money raising method as a simple approach to the designation problem. People cannot understand distinctions among a large number of agencies (and it must be admitted few professionals can understand them either), but all persons can understand the meaning of the coordination typified by five or six major fields. . . . I am proposing some common organic relationship among the various groups by means of which we can maintain group interest and get away from agency mindedness. Nothing much can be done to change campaigns until some of these things are brought about.⁴

The United Foundation of Detroit (comprising the Community Chest Campaign and a number of previously independent drives, including several health agencies, state and national agencies) and the United Health and Welfare Fund of Michigan—a lineal descendant of the earlier State War Fund—are immediate illustrations of the extension of the principles of financial federation.

² Ralph H. Blanchard, *The Future of Federation* (New York: Community Chests & Councils of America, Inc., 1949).

³ *The Case for Freedom in Welfare Fund Raising* (Washington, D.C.: American National Red Cross, 1949).

⁴ Wayne McMillen, "Methods in Reorganizing Private Social Work," *Community Organization for Social Welfare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), pp. 123-38.

Another interesting variation of this one appeal for all causes is the popular and fast-growing idea of industrial plant federation in which all appeals for funds are combined, financed by a pay-roll deduction of employees and funds distributed by a joint management—union committee or by a predetermined formula established by such a committee. Most metropolitan communities have a number of industries covered by these plans, although Pittsburgh seems to have the widest extension of the idea—spearheaded possibly by Carnegie-Illinois, a United States Steel subsidiary, which has adopted the plan as company-wide policy.

Both the Detroit and the Pittsburgh plans have been strongly opposed by the National Red Cross, although the local chapters of the Red Cross favored participation in the plan, at least in the area of industrial solicitation. In Pittsburgh the National Red Cross has consented to let their local chapter compromise through reaching separate agreements with employers that the pay-roll deductions in March (Red Cross campaign time) be designated for the Red Cross.

Without in any sense decrying these dramatic and popular efforts, serious doubt exists, first, as to whether the health and welfare cause is helped by these internecine clashes between the Red Cross—and to a lesser degree the representatives of health agencies such as cancer, tuberculosis, polio—and representatives of financial federation whether on a community- or industrial-plant scale. Sharp conflict is generally evidence of the failure to use good community organization processes. Second, and perhaps most important, what responsible group is prepared to say that it is either necessary or desirable to have so many separate health and national agen-

cies and that the stated financial needs of these agencies are fully justified? If Pierce Atwater was right, we may be making an already difficult problem of contributor understanding of what he is supporting vastly more difficult.

Undoubtedly, much of the present emphasis on the extension of financial federation has been precipitated by the multiplicity of campaigns in the health field. It is well to recall in this connection the findings of the Gunn-Platt Study of Voluntary Health Agencies and the observation at one point in the report as follows: "Cooperative planning and joint participation in community health projects are not only indicated by the logic of the situation, they are clearly favored by the more alert executives of the voluntary health agencies and leaders in the field in general."⁵ This statement argues eloquently for the importance of the two schools of thought represented by the pamphleteers to find a mean which if not golden is at least solid and practical.

The contributor, like the taxpayer, pays the bill, and, while he has no sacred right to immunity from a multiplicity of solicitations, he is certainly entitled to order rather than chaos. It is interesting to speculate as to whether, if the storm signals suggested by the Gunn-Platt study had been heeded, a different state of affairs might not now exist. The contributor sees little logic in the isolationism of the health agencies, including the Red Cross, particularly when he notices how many services equally as popular as the health agencies are associated in community chests in their fall campaigns. A joint campaign of the Red Cross and the health agencies in their traditional spring period—flexible enough

⁵ Selskar M. Gunn and Phillip S. Platt, *Voluntary Health Agencies* (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1945).

to recognize the values of these agencies' much publicized insignia and symbols—might strike a note of novelty and be such a powerful evidence of a co-operative spirit as to represent almost a new social invention. The community appeal of health services is tremendous, and no social equivalent of a unified command or even a "weapons evaluation board" can relegate them to a secondary role in an orderly and simplified community approach to those health and welfare needs which are filled by voluntary funds.

All this concern about federation—complete, partial, or not-at-all—is probably symptomatic of the great shift from private to public control of health and welfare services that has been occurring over a period of nearly two decades. Because of that fact as well as other factors, much of this concern now rests on quicksand until some serious consideration is given to the significant and perennial question of public and private responsibilities in the health and welfare field and, more important, to how—through research, co-ordination, and planning—a more logical, effective, and economical pattern of agencies and services can be prepared. With increasing frequency questions are being asked with respect to the multiplicity of agencies, the implications of increasing social insurance and union-sponsored health and welfare programs to voluntary effort, the relative or absolute validity of services. The community that postpones seeking answers to these questions for whatever reasons, including placing priority on bigger and better campaigns, is waiting for the eventual but compounded rebellion of contributors.

The area of public-private relationships has had its share within the last two or three months of pamphlets and editorials. In the June, 1949, issue of the *Social Service Review*, there is a note by the editor of that publication under the heading "Public or Private." In commenting upon the \$60,000,000 campaign of the American Red Cross for the year 1949-50, the editor writes as follows:

Without depreciating in any way the work the Red Cross has done, the question may well be raised as to why this should not be taken care of by our present public services. In the days when we had no federal welfare services, the Red Cross may have been necessary; with the large-scale federal agencies now available, from the Veterans Administration to the United States Public Health Service, there seems to be no reason why either a new federal agency could not be created if one is needed or the services could not be divided between several agencies instead of keeping a separate private agency with separate overhead and all the rest of it.⁶

The thorny character of the path to be pursued in determining public-private agency responsibility is further illustrated by an editorial in the June, 1949, issue of the *Catholic Charities Review* entitled "A Definition of Public and Private Relationships." In this editorial, reference is made to a statement recently prepared by the Cleveland Welfare Federation which outlined ten possible principles governing the relationships of public and private agencies. The editorial challenges generally these principles and indicates that they appear "designed to reduce voluntary organizations to as limited a role as possible."⁷

There is a peculiar appropriateness in the appearance of still another pamphlet representing the keynote address by President Basil O'Connor at the twenty-fourth annual convention of the American Red Cross held in the latter part of

⁶ "Public or Private?" *Social Service Review*, XXIII (June, 1949), 238.

⁷ "A Definition of Public and Private Relationships," *Catholic Charities Review*, XXXIII (June, 1949), 139.

June, 1949. This address was entitled "Can the Red Cross Survive?" The gist of the speech is related primarily to analyzing the difference in philosophy and community responsibility of public programs versus private programs. It touches again briefly on the issue of centralization of the collection of funds for health and welfare purposes. In this speech Mr. O'Connor recognizes clearly the great and primary role of government when he states:

Expansion of governmental control has thus been in great part a legitimate response to the necessities of the social situation in the 20th century. Practically all of us today have come to believe, I think, that if private enterprise is unable or unwilling so to do, government must take responsibility for assuring all of our people certain minimum levels of employment, housing, education, and health, below which no human being must be allowed to fall by any society calling itself civilized, where the means exist to prevent that.⁸

With this as a background, he then enunciates the following general philosophy with respect to, perhaps, the primary role and responsibility of the voluntary organization:

The desire to give love and sympathy is one of the deepest and richest instincts of man. The moral worth of a society depends in part on its success in devising an outlet for this instinct. Voluntary association, in my judgment, is clearly the only way in which this instinct can find expression in the fullness and spontaneity which are necessary to endow it with meaning. Only with voluntary association can the primitive impulse of generosity be preserved for giving is not an automatic thing. It finds no fulfillment in vacuous contributions or other mechanical devices. It is an upsurge of warmth and love in the human heart.⁹

Voluntary programs and services mean many things to many people, and in that

⁸ Basil O'Connor, *Can the Red Cross Survive?* (Washington, D.C.: American National Red Cross, 1949).

⁹ *Ibid.*

simple observation is inherent the difficulty in defining adequately and authoritatively public and private responsibilities in the health and welfare field. Certainly, it needs to be attempted at a higher level of policy than is possible in any community, with ways and means developed for testing the practicality of certain assumptions against the local scene. It is, perhaps, unfortunate that to all practical purposes no publicity has been given to a projected study of the relationship of public and voluntary agencies for health, welfare, and recreation, to be undertaken when funds are obtained by the National Social Welfare Assembly. The general outlines on the case for the need for such a study were developed by the Health and Welfare Planning Committee of Community Chests and Councils, which then referred it to the National Social Welfare Assembly because of its broad sponsorship and its membership representative of both the public and the private services. This study in its tentative outline proposes three steps: (1) an intensive study of social work in selected communities to determine and to evaluate current practice in terms of auspices, financial support, and kinds of professional services rendered by public and voluntary agencies in the same functional field and in the same community; (2) the compilation of existing principles currently used as guides in determining auspice and allocation of function between public and voluntary agencies; and (3) the preparation of a new set of principles or guides for determining auspice and allocation of function between public and voluntary agencies based on a review of actual practice in terms of currently enunciated principles.

Division of labor between public and private agencies, even though this is

blurred and opportunistic at many points, among case-work services, group-work services, and health services have brought great progress and refinement of technique and method to the health and welfare field. But the time seems to be here—with the first symptoms arising in the area of financing—for significant progress in the area of co-ordination of these specialities created by divisions of labor. It is of more than passing interest to note that the Survey Associates, promulgator of many studies, is now devoting its energy entirely to the Family Unit Reporting Service project in St. Paul, among whose objectives is a search for the area of common concern among the various disciplines in the health and welfare field. The tentative findings of this project—a high proportion of multi-problem families among the group served by organized agencies—at least raises a query as to whether some new forms of group practice or service are not indicated. As medicine has divided itself into specialities, the need now is for a way to co-ordinate these specialities through group practice.

So far we have shown little social invention in approaching this basic problem of co-ordination. The much-publicized Boston Survey, for example, while extensive and expensive, is just another standard survey of a pattern that has become almost monotonously familiar. This study proposed, for example, that future co-ordination among Boston's social services shall be provided by a planning organization to which has been added budgeting and fund-raising for private agencies and into whose veins has been transfused lay leadership previously largely active in the campaign organization. This body will be much more of a centralized organization than is true of the usual council of agencies and organi-

zations. Whether this is good or bad is difficult, if not impossible, to determine without extensive clarification as to the exact goals and objectives of the organization. Centralized types of organizations and membership—controlled council types—have been familiar forms of community organization structures for well over a generation, so that we do not have to guess as to which, if any, is the best, if we are willing to devote some time and study to the matter.

So, again we find a proposal for a study which has not received any publicity. In the spring of this year the Health and Welfare Planning Committee of the Community Chests and Councils proposed to the latter's board and had accepted a plan for a study of "Local Community Organization for Health and Welfare."¹⁰

The outline prepared for this study proposal suggests "a fresh approach to community planning for health and welfare." Recognition is given to the urgent need for ascertaining the best ways and means "to plan in an orderly way within the democratic framework" what is thought to be "the desirable point between rigid control and chaotic 'laissez faire.'" It was clearly indicated that the study would not attempt necessarily to reaffirm present methods and patterns but would take the best out of all past experience, identifying principles, methods, and relationships which are tested and good. In the discussion of the study, consideration was also given to the importance of some kind of effective working relationships with planning groups other than those in the health and welfare area.

¹⁰ Community Chests and Councils, "Report of National Committee for the Study of Local Community Organization for Health and Welfare" (1949). (Typewritten.)

It is interesting to note that this study came out of an earlier study on "Council-Public Agency Relationships,"¹¹ which had been seeking principles governing the obtaining of the fullest public agency participation in planning.

This welter of proposals and counter-proposals with respect to financing of health and welfare agencies, the debates as to where lies the line of demarcation between public and private, the projected studies of the relationship of public and voluntary agencies and of local community organization, stimulate many questions and observations.

Have we appraised adequately the present and future contribution of government to the welfare of people?

Do we want primarily more of what we have now in the field of financing of voluntary agencies and in planning, or do we need different forms and approaches?

Is some form of broad-scale research into the needs of people in the health and welfare field comparable, perhaps, to the Ray Lyman Wilbur study of the costs of medical care and the 1936 Health Survey indicated?

¹¹ "Public Agency-Council Relationships" (Health and Welfare Planning Department, Community Chests and Councils, December, 1946).

Dean Arlien Johnson in her 1947 presidential address to the National Conference of Social Work made the following observation:

Social work has dimly glimpsed the tremendous significance of social intergroup or community organization work. . . . The urgency of the need for this service should inspire social workers to new efforts to define content and method of community organization. This is a challenge equal in magnitude to that which motivated the founders of our profession when they led the way in the early twentieth century in combatting the effects of industrialization. To enable people "to think together and evolve workable judgments" in the interest of the larger society to help them to achieve a more abundant life, individually and collectively.¹²

Where are we going? It is possible to set the course if we know the time and place of departure—which we should know—and the place of arrival. To determine this reckoning, we need fundamental research by our agencies and universities with respect to agency programs and services and methods of community organization on a scale we have not yet attempted or hardly imagined.

SOCIAL PLANNING COUNCIL OF ST. LOUIS
AND ST. LOUIS COUNTY
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

¹² "Science and Social Work," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1947* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), p. 16.

SOCIAL-WORK EDUCATION TODAY—SOME QUESTIONS¹

HELEN R. WRIGHT

THE Program Committee assigned me the topic "Objectives and Developments in Professional Education for Social Work" and valiantly announced that the discussion would include an evaluation of our educational program today. You must have wondered at my rashness in accepting such an assignment; for it is elementary that, to evaluate, one must know all the relevant facts about that which is to be judged. Such evaluation would demand detailed knowledge about the program in fifty-two schools, a knowledge which is not to be obtained from their catalogues. From the catalogues it is indeed possible to learn the course offerings and usually, but not always, a brief description of the course content. But this is far from enough to warrant an appraisal of the various programs, or even of the individual courses. Detailed outlines or syllabi of the courses are needed, and these have not been assembled. The way the courses are put together into a program for students is of equal importance, and this, too, is not shown by most of the catalogues. And, above all, to evaluate the program, one would need to know not only the "what" but the "how." How well does the instructor succeed in infusing spirit into dead materials so that they take on life and meaning? How does he arouse curiosity so that the students eagerly pursue knowledge? What demands does he make of the students? What opportunity and challenge does he

give them to think for themselves? These questions could never be answered by catalogues or printed syllabi. Yet they are the life without which the best paper program in the world is a meaningless form and with which many deficiencies in the formal program could pass unchallenged.

Without these facts on which appraisal should be based, with almost fifty-seven varieties of educational programs in operation, is there anything that can be said by way of appraisal? I trust that you will not be too forcibly reminded of the all-too-familiar answers to examination questions in which the student begins by saying, "I know little about this subject" and demonstrates his ignorance for many wearisome paragraphs. It is clear that in what I am about to say I can give you only personal impressions and generalizations which have, at best, only partial validity. Perhaps it is safer to say that I can raise questions, not answer them. I cannot document my impressions, but I can give you the types of evidence on which they are based. They come from intimate knowledge of the program of one school for the last twenty years and from participation in this association in various ways over the same period of time, with these impressions fortified by a review of the mimeographed material issued by the association. They come also from observation of students as they leave our school and from conversation with former students, both those of our own school and others, about problems on the job, and from observations of

¹ A paper read at the annual meeting of the American Association of Schools of Social Work held in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, January 22-25, 1950.

graduates of a number of schools in action.

The first impression I want to share with you is a positive one. I believe that we are and have been for many years clear as to our objectives. We have believed that professional education must equip people for practice, and we have realized that practice was more than work with the individual client or with the group. We have conceived it to include administration and co-ordination of the welfare services and participation in what used to be called "social reform" but is now called "social action" or "social statesmanship." We have given at least lip service to the idea that graduates should be expected to contribute to the advancement of the profession not only by their performance but by research that threw light on its unsolved problems. We have registered these convictions not only in speech after speech and paper after paper given by our responsible leaders but also in the nature of the program that we have outlined for our core curriculum, whether we look at our first effort in this direction in 1932 or the current statement of the so-called "basic eight."

Even here, however, questions arise. Are we quite clear about what the social-welfare program includes or for what practice we wish to prepare people? Do we feel uneasy when someone suggests that we are not preparing people for the social-insurance programs, for industrial welfare, or for other fringe positions? To determine whether such unease is justified, we must have some guide. Surely we cannot prepare for practice in all programs that promote the social welfare. For example, the enactment of our Federal Reserve law in 1912 was one of the most important measures of our time in promoting such welfare. Yet no one

would seriously suggest that schools of social work have been derelict in their duty because they have not attempted to prepare people for positions in the Federal Reserve system. What, then, are the characteristics of the programs for which we wish to prepare our graduates? I recently defined them as follows: (1) The program must serve a *social-welfare* purpose; that is, it must be designed to serve social ends and not the ends of individual or group that are in conflict with the general social welfare. (2) It must be a program that, in the attainment of these purposes, provides direct services to people, individually or in groups, that call for understanding of human behavior and motivation. (3) The workers in the program must have an opportunity to do a *professional* job, i.e., one that calls for judgment and discretion as contrasted with a highly routinized carrying-out of orders or policies. I do not know whether you will agree with this definition. In a sense, that is beside the point. The point is that we as a group have not defined the characteristics; I am not even certain that every school has defined them for itself. Without a definition we must lack a rudder to guide us in an open sea.

We recognize preparation for social action as important, but are we quite clear about what role we expect social workers to play in this field? It seems obvious that few, if any, can earn their daily bread by such activities. The world is not ready to support the gadflies who prick it into changing its ways. Socrates, to be sure, thought the Athenians should do so, but you remember they gave him hemlock instead. Hence, the social-action role of social workers must largely be carried on in off-the-job activities. Professional education, therefore, must prepare its graduates for something in addi-

tion to social action, something that can be sold in the market place. Furthermore, refashioning our institutions is a task that calls for many skills. We could not hope in two short years, or three or even four, to equip our graduates with all of them. It would really be arrogant to try; for certainly social workers are not alone in the world in wanting a better society or in being ready to use their talents to try to bring it about. What, then, should the social worker be expected to contribute? My own statement is:

First of all, it seems to me clear that the social worker should always be on the lookout for places in which our social institutions are failing to meet needs, and should participate in and even form the spearhead of movements for modifying them.

The social worker should also play a part in the formulation of the measures by which any new service should be set up or an old one modified. The exact part to be played would depend on a number of different factors, special competence of the social worker, the nature of the service to be set up, or the institution to be modified. But I do not think social workers should be expected to take full responsibility for this formulation. There is need of specialists from many fields. Thus, even Miss Breckinridge, who was herself trained in the law before she became a social worker, took counsel with Ernst Freund on the best formulation of many measures in which she was interested. Grace Abbott sought legal advice and help from politicians in the formulation of the child labor amendment. It seems to me that what social workers should be expected to do in the formulation is to keep before all participating a clear recognition of the objectives to be sought and to seek to utilize the special skills of other professions to attain the

nearest approach to the ultimate objective that is feasible.

Again you may not agree with me, and again that is not too important. What is important is that the role of the social worker in this field has been recognized, not analyzed, and that until it is analyzed we cannot appraise the success or failure of our educational program in preparing for this role.

Finally, with reference to our objectives, are we all quite certain of the relationship which the three types of practice—work with individuals and groups, administration, and social action—bear to one another and to research? Do we think that the same course of study prepares students equally well for all, and, if so, what is the essence of that course of study? Have we perhaps analyzed more carefully what is needed for successful work with individual clients and groups than what is needed for successful administration and social statesmanship, so that, willy-nilly, our program has been better adapted to fit people for their first, rather than their later, jobs? Have we, in short, put so much emphasis on the theory and skill of case work and group work that we have neglected other equally important parts of the curriculum?

I think the answer is probably that we have so sinned in some measure. One has only to glance over catalogues and count the number of courses offered in case work and group work in comparison to those in other fields to be a bit disturbed by the emphasis. It is only natural, perhaps, that we should have fallen into this practice. Our graduates must find employment, and employing agencies have been very insistent about the skills which they expect from the beginning worker. Have you ever tried to find a position for a young graduate whom you must recom-

mend in these terms: He has a keen, inquiring mind, a passion for social justice, potentialities for real success in formulating policies that carry out the objectives of the agency *but*—his knowledge of case work is only that of a first-year student, he has little skill at getting at the underlying or unconscious motivations and has not learned to handle sustained meaningful relationships? Will anything you can say induce an agency to choose him in preference to the person who has the skills he lacks but lacks the qualities which are his in abundance? Thus, if we are to be realistic, we are almost forced to emphasize the courses leading to skill for the first type of practice.

Perhaps, however, I have painted the picture too darkly, and, indeed, I think I have. Do we think that, in teaching the methods course, we are preparing for first positions only, or do we believe that we are teaching something that is important and vital for any work in the field of social welfare? We have, perhaps, not often stated what we believe to be the reason for the importance that we attach to the methods courses. Would you not agree with me, however, in this statement: From these courses the student gets an understanding, intellectual and emotional, of human behavior and motivation which is as essential for administration, planning, and social action as it is for work with clients. He learns to apply certain principles of working with people which are important whether he is working with a client, a colleague, a supervisory person, or a person under his supervision. He learns to be aware of his own emotions and biases and to use them constructively, in a disciplined fashion. He learns a way of attacking a problem by studying the evidence, seeing what further evidence is needed, formulating tentative hypotheses, testing them in ac-

tion, and reformulating as action proves them wrong or inadequate. If we are agreed on this, then we can indeed justify what might look like an overemphasis on case work or group work if—and it is a big if—we see this clearly enough and have enough conviction about it to make certain that our teaching of these courses is such that the student is led to think of what he is learning as applicable to other relationships than that of client-worker and if we are equally certain that our teaching in other courses is such as to ask the student to utilize the same approach and the same knowledge of behavior in considering the welfare program or a research problem.

This gets us quite directly into consideration of our performance. We need to be clear as to our objectives, but objectives are of no value unless translated into action. How well have we, in fact, carried out our objectives? I have said that, perhaps, we might justify what looks like an overemphasis on the methods courses. But I do not think we can dismiss thus easily the charge that they are overemphasized. It is difficult to believe that, when a school offers twelve courses in case work and one in public welfare, there is any opportunity for the student to get the fundamentals outside case work that are essential for good administration and sound social planning. I return again to the *if* that I mentioned earlier. Can we honestly say that our methods courses are universally, or even generally, so taught that the student is helped to see that he is learning principles and skills that are applicable to other fields than work with clients? Can we say that our courses in public assistance, social insurance, legal protection of the child, research, etc., are so taught that the student is helped to use here the knowledge of behavior and the methods

of analysis that he is learning in methods courses with their supporting field work? Or do we rely entirely on the student to see the connections, trusting to intellectual osmosis? Have not all of us known the student, interested in social action, who objected to the amount of case work he was expected to take or, more frequently, the student who wanted only case-work courses and did not see why he should take work in public assistance and the like? Does that not suggest to us that we have failed in some measure to achieve the integration which is essential for sound professional education? One might speculate indefinitely as to why this is true. Perhaps the most significant thing is that we, the instructors, are the products of an education that was not integrated and that, since we left school, we have been so engrossed in our own specialties that integration has been partial and unformulated. Must not deans and directors find a way to make certain that public welfare does not speak only to public welfare and case work speak only to God?

This discussion, as you will readily see, is based on a fundamental assumption. It is the assumption that the training and discipline necessary to make a good case worker or group worker and those needed to make a good administrator or a good participant in social-reform activities are essentially the same, that the unique contributions which social workers have to make to activities in the two latter areas come primarily from the discipline in the methods courses, a discipline which needs to be carried on in the other courses. If this be accepted, our objectives to prepare people for the three types of practice may be attainable in a two-year time span. If it is not, we have to look forward to additional years of study; for schools of social work, like any

other professional school, must suit their basic preparation to the requirements of beginning practice.

Another, but closely allied, question comes to my mind as I review catalogues and look at our own offerings. How carefully have we analyzed the essentials necessary in any educational preparation? How well have we succeeded in adapting our educational program to a changing world? This question, as you can see, has implications for the future as well as for the present.

As I review the past and look at current practice, it seems that the method most used to adapt to change has been the method of addition. As new fields developed and new emergencies arose, we have added a course here and a course there, each related to the particular field or emergency. Thus, in case work we find basic case work, case work with children, case work with children in foster-homes, medical-social case work, psychiatric case work, case work with veterans, family case work, case work in rehabilitation, case work in the schools, case work with the aged, etc. Our curriculum committee has already made an attack on this problem and has suggested movement toward generic courses. Whether this idea is not acceptable to many of the schools or whether they have lagged in putting the idea into effect I do not know. I only know that, according to current catalogues, the many specialized offerings persist.

Nor is it only in case work that we have used this method. Take, for example, the program of the school I know best. Twenty-odd years ago we had a single course in public welfare administration and a course in the history of philanthropy. To these courses have been added, as new programs developed, courses in the following subjects: public

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assistance, social insurance, child and the state, public health and medical-care programs, rehabilitation of the disabled, administration of the public welfare services, and, for a short period, social services in wartime. There is, I believe, justification for every course, with the possible exception of the last-named. Yet you can readily see what a problem this poses in planning a student's program. No student can find time in his program to take all these courses. Which, if any, are essentials? Which can be left as electives? Our current answer has been that public assistance and social insurance are essentials and that from the rest the student must choose two. But this answer is far from satisfactory. Every one of the courses covers subject matter that seems important for all social workers. The instructor of each course becomes distressed as he sees students leave for practice, with blind spots in the area covered by his course.

Nor is this the only reason for dissatisfaction. Each course has in its objectives not only imparting knowledge but developing skill in analysis, in evaluation, etc. A good educational experience for the student would require that there be progressively more taxing demands made on him, so that each course deepened and sharpened his skills. Yet how can this be achieved with this system of electives? Each instructor must start at the same place, assuming his students have had only the required courses in this field. For some this assumption is true, for others it is contrary to fact. The result must inevitably be that students meet the same type of demands in their two electives, at the same level. What the answer to this problem is I do not know. We have this year tackled it in our two required courses—public assistance and social insurance—by putting the two

courses together into a two-quarter course in social security, with progressive demands on the student. Whether we can work out something similar with regard to the electives remains to be seen. It waits on detailed analysis of the objectives of each course and a critical consideration of what is essential knowledge.

Another solution of the problem has been tried in some schools, namely, an introductory course that tries to encompass the essentials of the total welfare program. I do not know how satisfied those schools are with that solution. The danger of such a course is that, as the welfare program expands, the instructor finds himself teaching less and less about more and more and the student becomes so busy memorizing a mass of facts that he never thinks of thinking for himself at all. This danger may be avoidable, but it requires great skill on the part of the instructor and a careful analysis of what is the essential knowledge, of what framework gives unity to the various parts, and of what skills the course shall attempt to develop.

I have dwelt at some length on this problem, because I think it is one of the most critical for the present and will become even more critical as the welfare program expands. I think, too, that we are just beginning to face it. The kind of analysis that the curriculum committee made for the case-work sequence has not been made for the sequence in public welfare or in even broader terms for the content relating to organization and administration of the welfare program (unless it has been made at individual schools). Such analysis may be more difficult to make in this latter area. But I am convinced that it must be made if we are to cope successfully with the problem of adaptation to a changing world. The method of addition will not serve us.

If you agree that we cannot be satisfied with where we are in our own field, do you think we can be better satisfied with our use of material from other disciplines? In general, I should have to answer in the negative. Only in one field do I think we have solved the problem reasonably well—the use of psychiatry throughout our case-work teaching. Our method there has been to have psychiatrists teach courses for us and for our case-work teachers in class and in field to pick up and use this knowledge in the students' work. It is a subject in which they are thoroughly at home, keep up with current developments, and hence are able to integrate it into the main stream of the educational program. For material from medicine we have, in general, relied on the same method, i.e., we have had physicians give medical information and have expected the instructors in case work to pick it up and use it as they did psychiatry. But can we honestly maintain that it has been so used outside the medical-social field? Have we not all seen far too many students who could reel off for us the etiology and symptoms of tuberculosis, for example, but were quite at a loss when asked to discuss how the presence of this disease affected planning with a family? In law we have done even less. We have carried out the first part of the pattern, to be sure; we have had someone from the law give us a course on social work and the law. We have perhaps worked with him in deciding on the content of the course, and we have tried to get as instructor someone who had some knowledge of the social-welfare program. But, as far as I can see, we have had little, if any, theory as to how this law course was to be integrated with others. By and large, I believe that, since the time of Miss Breckinridge, our law courses have been dan-

gling participles, attached to little else in the students' experience.

But what about material from economics, sociology, political science, anthropology? Here we have done even less. We have paid at least lip service to the idea that the student should come to us with a groundwork in these disciplines, but how often have we failed to enforce our requirements? And, as Mr. Hollis has reminded us, we have been somewhat vague as to what we expected the student to bring from these disciplines. Beyond this entrance requirement, occasionally or frequently as the case may be, we have used courses in other departments in our universities. But again how have we integrated them into our professional disciplines? Finally, we have hoped that instructors in our various courses would use material from these other disciplines. Undoubtedly, many have done so; perhaps all have to some degree. But can we possibly believe that most of them are at home with *all* these disciplines as the case-work instructor is with psychiatry? Do we give them time to keep abreast of new developments in these many fields?

This problem of material from other disciplines is a vexing one for all professional education, not only for education for social work, although it may be that no other profession is quite so dependent on others. Ralph Tyler, of our university, discussed it in a paper given to librarians, which I wish he might have given to us. He criticized the practice of professional schools of giving courses in other disciplines instead of sending students to courses given by departments whose primary concern was these disciplines. He had two grounds for his objections: (1) It deprived the students in the professional school of contacts with students in other fields which serve to extend their

thinking and understanding. (2) "The professor who teaches an applied course in a professional school" tends to cut himself off from the main stream of thought in his own field and so over the years he decreases his usefulness in applying concepts developed in his field that might have further significance for broader education in the profession.² He recognized, however, that, if courses in other departments were to be useful, the student must be helped to see the implications of such courses for his own profession. One method of giving such help that he cited with approval was the use of seminars in the professional field, running concurrently with courses in the related field. I do not know whether any of us have tried this method and with what success. I see difficulties in its use but believe it should be tried, if we cannot think of a better way to integrate the material.

While, in general, I agree with Mr. Tyler on the advantages of having our students in courses with others for the exchange of points of view, I think he has overemphasized the dangers of the professor's being cut off from developments in his own field. The greater danger is that he does not keep closely enough in touch with developments in our field to select wisely the knowledge from his field that is most pertinent.

I think, too, that all of us who have tried to use courses in other departments must be impressed with some difficulties which will not be overcome by the concurrent seminar. The tendency is very marked for university departments to be concerned primarily, if not exclusively, with educating specialists in their own disciplines. Thus it may happen that, to get the essentials in any discipline that

are important for social work, a student may need to take three or four courses, e.g., in American government, a course in federal government, one in state government, another in local government, and still another in public administration. How can time for such a number be found in a two-year program?

Seeing all these difficulties, whichever method we use, we may perhaps shrug our shoulders and say the problem is insoluble. But that is a defeatist attitude and certainly gets us nowhere. Attainment of our goals in education for social work demands that we solve it. The perfect solution may not be found, but I am convinced that we can do better than we are doing if we will put our minds to the problem and initiate some experiments whose success and failure we will carefully record. Here is a suggestion for the program committee of next year or the year after. Can they not find out what any school is doing along this line and have it reported and discussed at one of our meetings?

All these questions have related to the curriculum. But, as I said earlier, the curriculum is but the bare bones of education. The instructor and how he handles the curriculum is the life-giving element. How good are we as instructors? How much attention have we given to what may be called the "art of teaching"? Certainly, each of us has been concerned about it, and each of us has tried conscientiously to improve his teaching. But what opportunity have we had to share our ideas or to have sympathetic criticism of our teaching from a senior in the field, such as the practicing case worker gets in her periodic evaluations? How many of us have had to learn what we know or think we know about teaching methods almost exclusively by the trial-and-error method, not even being

² Ralph W. Tyler, "Educational Problems in Other Professions," in *Education for Librarianship* (American Library Association, 1949).

sure at times that we and our colleagues agreed on the criteria for good teaching? Could a beginner of 1950 write as Henry Adams wrote of his first teaching in 1871: "For the next nine months the Assistant Professor had no time to waste on comforts or amusements. He exhausted all his strength in trying to keep one day ahead of his duties. He could not stop to think whether he were doing the work rightly"?

In raising these questions I do not mean to imply that no attention has been given to the problem. I am aware that sessions of these meetings have been devoted to the subject of teaching various subjects; I am aware that workshops or institutes on teaching case work have been given from time to time by some schools; I am aware that New York, Chicago, and undoubtedly many other schools have a method of induction of new case-work teachers under the tutelage of a senior instructor. I am aware, too, that more systematic attention to teaching problems may be given at the various schools than I know of. My impression is, however, that more is being done about the teaching of case work than about the teaching of other subjects and that the principles formulated for case-work teaching that might well have validity for all teaching have been inadequately shared with those teaching in other fields. But, whether I am right or wrong in these impressions, I still question whether we are doing enough. I have heard of nothing in any of our professional schools comparable to what is being done in the College of the University of Chicago. There some of the instructors have carried on their classes in rooms equipped with wire recorders and, after the sessions, individually and in groups have analyzed what went on in the classroom, where the instructor did well and

why, where his efforts might be criticized. Furthermore, they have followed this up by interviews with students, in an attempt to learn what went on in the students' minds when they were not participating, hoping to find out what kept them thinking of the subject, what set them off on tangents or even daydreaming. From this they have already formulated some tentative conclusions, published under the title *Teaching by Discussion*. I found their discussion interesting and provocative, but, as it all related to teaching young students, I am not certain how much of it is relevant to teaching in our field. In other words, I do not think our work has been done for us. I am not saying that this method is the one we should use. I cite it only as an example of what may be involved in a serious attempt to perfect our teaching methods.

These questions that I have raised have a decided negative cast, as will not have escaped your notice. They imply that our education is not so good as it should be, in view of the responsibilities that our profession is undertaking. But I have given, as I am well aware, a very one-sided appraisal, if such it can be called. I could have written a paper quite as long, extolling what we have done, how far we have come in the twenty-odd years that I have been coming to these meetings, how far ahead we are of most other professional education in certain respects. Had I been talking to a group of outsiders, I should have emphasized our achievements. I should have dwelt on what we have done in teaching practice, through our field-work instruction; I should have pointed out our contributions in recognizing the role of emotions in the learning process, our efforts to turn out graduates who had disciplined emotions as well as disciplined minds; I should have pointed out our freedom

from the dead hand of tradition and our willingness to experiment. All this and much more would have been developed at length. Within the family, however, it seemed to me better to concentrate on our unsolved problems. It is only as we face our shortcomings that we can hope to improve. And we must seek to improve because of the nature of the task to

which we have set our hand. We remember that Henry Adams, cynic though he was, wrote: "Even to him education was a serious thing. A parent gives life, but as parent gives no more. A murderer takes life but his deed stops there. A teacher affects eternity; he can never tell where his influence stops."

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

NOTES AND COMMENT BY THE EDITOR

THE CHILDREN'S FUND

AFTER a country-by-country survey of child welfare conditions abroad the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund reported before the end of the year 1949 that its relief programs were reaching about 10 per cent of the sixty million undernourished children considered to be in "urgent need of help."

A *New York Times* correspondent reported from Lake Success that the Children's Fund was hampered by inadequate financial support from governments. Officials of the Fund acknowledged that the agency had been compelled to limit its assistance to the most desperate cases of malnutrition, sickness, and want.

The survey, made by the *New York Times* on the third anniversary of the Children's Fund, showed that a supplementary meal, composed mainly of milk and possibly a small portion of meat, fish, or fats, is going to six million children.

Shoes and other articles of clothing are going to about 2,000,000 boys and girls—about 4 per cent of the total who need such help. Medical aid is being given to 20,000,000 children, about one-third of the group suffering from ill-health, or threatened by disease.

The *Times* said further that the child-relief problem was further complicated by "growing uncertainty evidenced here over the United Nations plans for continuing the international program after 1950, when the Children's Fund must either quit or get a new lease on life from the General Assembly."

This question was then about to come up before the eighteen-nation Social Commission, which was to map out some program on the continuing needs of children for consideration by its parent body, the Economic and Social Council, in February and by the Assembly next fall.

The Times report continued as follows:

The United States, the biggest financial contributor to the Children's Fund, has expressed a reluctance toward continuing any program that will commit it to support "heavy-feeding" programs for an indefinite period. Britain has insisted, even more forcefully, that it is time to terminate feeding projects in most of Europe.

In the view of many United Nations officials, however, the recovery of European children has not yet reached the point where relief can be abandoned completely. This view is also emphasized by the findings of the Children's Fund survey, which concludes that while 2,500,000 meals have been provided, the needs of youngsters in Europe continue while those of children in Asia, Latin America and the Middle East grow more pressing each day.

From the chief of the Children's Fund mission in Italy, for example, comes a grim warning that the cessation of feeding for mothers and children will wipe out the gains that have been made by past operations. Approximately one million youngsters have been helped in Italy.

In a report to the Children's Fund, the Italian mission emphasizes that in some sections of the country, particularly the southern areas, 71 per cent of the youngsters examined recently were found to be in "bad or mediocre nutritional condition." The report describes hospital services for children as "woefully inadequate," and notes the high mortality rate among infants, particularly among the more than 35,000 babies of illegitimate birth born annually. The Italian mission recommends that further programs should be planned for Italy to emphasize instruction in improved nutritional habits.

From Greece, the Children's Fund has received word that the situation inside that country will continue to be in an "emergency status for some years to come," and the mission in Greece has warned that "international help is absolutely essential."

According to the mission's report, the condition of Greek youngsters is one of the most desperate faced by the relief agency. There are an estimated 339,900 orphans in the country requiring immediate aid. The plight of the coun-

try's thousands of crippled, blinded and war-maimed youngsters continues to be an acute problem, the mission reported. It concluded that "even without the catastrophic effect of war, invasion and civil strife, the situation of Greek children would have presented a critical picture today."

The report from Czechoslovakia indicates that while the "emergency" phase of operations has passed, international aid is needed to provide milk, meats and fats and the technical help required to set up centers for infant food production.

From Yugoslavia, the Children's Fund has reported an urgent need for medical supplies and surgical equipment as well as mechanical equipment to expand the milk conservation program and thus set up production of safe milk for infants and children. The termination of the Children's Fund program after June, 1950, will leave an "overwhelming majority" of youngsters without milk, the mission has warned, while shortages of shoes and clothing will bring distress to millions more.

The Children's Fund mission in Germany has reported that the country's unprecedented overcrowding is having serious ill effects on the child population, particularly among the 3,000,000 homeless refugee children. The influx of these young refugees, the mission says, has created a welfare problem that threatens to continue for "years to come."

The health of German children is being undermined further by the poor milk supply and the distribution of milk to infants, which is both unsatisfactory as to fat content and safe pasteurization. The mission emphasizes, moreover, that shortages of baby foods and milk powder persist and recommends the establishment of an extensive school-feeding program, particularly for the benefit of the millions of refugee youngsters. Need is also felt for hospital supplies, linens and layettes as well as articles for clinics.

In Europe [at the end of 1949], mass-feeding projects still were under way in five other countries—Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Poland and Rumania. Children's Fund officials reported recently, however, that a request had been received from Rumania for the withdrawal of the mission to that country and the continuance of supply-distribution through local personnel. . . .

While the food-needs of the other countries vary, officials have found that the most workable programs call for the provision of milk, fats

and such foodstuffs as meat, sugar and dried fruits. Reports from all missions indicate that this system of relief has worked effectively.

Although European feeding programs got top priorities, officials of the Children's Fund emphasize that there has been a gradual shift in emphasis to the countries outside Europe.

The Fund has allocated \$22,000,000 for assistance to twelve states and six territories in Asia, where the funds will be spent largely for "demonstration" feeding to show the advantages of improved nutritional programs, rather than for emergency mass-feeding as in Europe. Maternal and child-health services and health programs to reduce tuberculosis, malaria, venereal disease and yaws are also provided. Supplies of raw materials are also being shipped to these areas to be converted into children's clothing.

Unlike the European projects, the Asian programs emphasize the training of locally recruited personnel so that the serious shortage of welfare and child-care workers can be met, at least in small measure. It is the hope of Children's Fund officials that this program can be furthered by the establishment of regional child-care centers and clinics.

In China, for example, the Fund's program gives heavy emphasis to the training of public health workers. In Japan, the emphasis is on "demonstration" feeding and the supply of cotton for children's clothes.

Elsewhere in Asia, the Children's Fund missions are concentrating on programs to eliminate malaria, yaws and tuberculosis. Some feeding programs are planned for the Philippines and Indonesia while anti-malarial drives are on in India, Pakistan and Thailand.

In the case of the Latin-American nations, the Children's Fund has allocated a grant of \$3,840,000 for fifteen countries where some school-feeding, insect control projects and immunization programs will be initiated as well as maternal and child-health programs set up.

In the opinion of Children's Fund workers, the needs of children in the rural areas could best be met by the setting up of mobile health units, equipped for diagnostic work, simple treatment, immunization and health education.

Under present plans, the Fund expects to begin work shortly in Bolivia, British Honduras, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru and Uruguay.

In the Middle East, the Children's Fund is helping to feed 500,000 Arab and Jewish children and mothers, supplying blankets and medical supplies and carrying out a tuberculosis vaccination program.

Wherever the Fund operates, officials have insisted that the benefiting nation "match" the relief given either by distributing some locally grown or surplus foodstuffs to its own child-population or by providing warehousing, processing or local services.

In an anniversary day message, Maurice Pate, executive director of the relief organization, emphasized that this "self-help" principle is at the basis of every operation, and is carefully supervised both by the Fund's international staff of 297 persons and by its policy-making executive board of twenty-six member nations.

EAST AND WEST

THE record of the Quakers for more than three centuries is commended by Mr. David J. Dallin in an article in the *New Leader*, "Pax Amicorum?" Every political statement of the Quakers is, he thinks, significant. "It is a proud record of selfless work and help in need, all over the world. The Quakers are one of the very few American societies well-known abroad. They possess a network of ambassadors of good will; from many countries they obtain information on economic and political issues." The traditional antiwar point of view of the Quakers and a suggested foreign-policy program called *The United States and the Soviet Union*¹ has now been published.

However, Mr. Dallin thinks that "in their contacts with people in need as well as with officials of smaller rank" the Quakers gather optimistic, positive impressions. "Their approach to the policies of all governments is benevolent and conciliatory. Whatever good can be found in, and said about, a nation and its government, is eagerly accepted; on the other hand, unsurmountable international difficulties simply do not

exist for the Quakers; they prefer not to see the reefs and rocks."

In spite of such criticisms as these there is no doubt that this modest little volume, which has been issued for the Friends by Yale University Press, is having wide influence.

A preliminary draft of the report was released last year (1949) to Secretary of State Acheson, the Russian Ambassador, all members of the United States Senate, and a list of leading citizens for discussion and constructive criticism. It is probably true that "news of its proposals caused a hopeful stir from one end of this country to the other." A Providence newspaper called it "a rare blend of goodwill and common sense," while a newspaper in California said that it "should be read in full by every American who has more than a passing interest in foreign affairs." The *Christian Century* wrote that "its pages shine like a beacon on a dark and stormy night." An editorial in the *Christian Science Monitor* said: "Since Hiroshima, Americans have had the gravest responsibility of history thrust in their unready hands. The analytical eye and the compassionate heart are both needed to make them equal to it."

The American Friends Service Committee, which received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1947, is known all over the world for its efforts on behalf of relief and rehabilitation, its educational projects in race relations and economic relations, its work and study projects for young people, its co-operative housing projects, and its seminars and institutes on international relations.

The members of its Working Party on American-Soviet Relations, which prepared this report, including Gilbert F. White, president of Haverford College, who served as chairman; Elmore Jackson, associate secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, who served as secretary; Frank Aydelotte, former director of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton; five other professors from various universities; three staff members of the American Friends Service Committee; and the editor of the *Friend*.

¹ *The United States and the Soviet Union: Some Quaker Proposals for Peace; A Report Prepared for the American Friends Service Committee* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1949). Pp. v+40. \$1.00.

A SQUARE DEAL FOR D.P.'S

FAIR legislation for displaced persons is urged in a recent number of the *American Federationist*. The AF of L reminds us that in 1946, at its sixty-fifth convention, a resolution was adopted calling for the "admission of a substantial number of displaced persons to this country, without in any way modifying the existing immigration law. Since then the A.F. of L. has been diligently pressing for emergency legislation to permit displaced persons to be resettled here."

When the Stratton Bill was the major bill introduced in Congress in 1947 in behalf of displaced persons, President William Green announced AF of L support of this measure, and he testified before the House Subcommittee on Immigration:

The American Federation of Labor has consistently maintained its opposition to all forms of totalitarianism—to communism, Nazism and fascism. That is fundamental with the American Federation of Labor. It is therefore fitting that we conform our actions to our announced policies.

Those who oppose totalitarianism should certainly be sympathetic toward the victims of totalitarianism—the displaced persons. These people have proved their devotion to democratic ideals and their willingness to suffer for those ideals is ample evidence of the firmness of their convictions. . . .

We urge the passage of this legislation in order that the United States may demonstrate to the world that it will not only fight for democracy and freedom, but will also remain a place of refuge for those fleeing totalitarian oppression.

Congress, however, adjourned without taking any action on the Stratton Bill.

In the fall of 1947 the sixty-sixth convention of the American Federation of Labor unanimously adopted a resolution calling for the enactment of the Stratton Bill. Many national and international unions also adopted resolutions in favor of the bill; but, when the bill failed to pass, President Green urged a liberal substitute. After listing his suggestions for a liberal D.P. law, President Green said:

Without these changes the bill is wholly in-

adequate either to give DPs the substantial aid they deserve or to establish the leadership by the United States which is necessary to lead other nations to take part in the solution of this vital problem.

Supplementing President Green's letter, legislative representatives of the AF of L called on senators, apprising them of the Federation's position. From all parts of the country, the AF of L affiliates wrote or wired their respective senators, urging them to liberalize S. 2242.

As enacted into law, S. 2242, the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, had been amended in only one instance. The number of D.P.'s to be admitted was increased from fifty thousand a year for two years, as originally called for in the bill, to one hundred thousand a year for two years. The discriminatory provisions, however, remained.

The act was vigorously denounced by the 1948 convention of the AF of L. In its report to the convention the Executive Council stated that the D.P. Act of 1948 "contains many discriminatory provisions which in their effect, if not in each case by design, impose the most rigorous limitations upon certain groups of deserving DPs" and recommended that efforts be continued to rectify the injustices embodied in the act. The resolution on D.P.'s, which was unanimously adopted, recorded the AF of L's opposition to the act as an "un-American, illiberal and discriminatory piece of legislation" and urged that the act be amended by "increasing the number of DPs to be admitted and by removing from it all racial and religious discriminations." The *Federationist* said, further:

The American Federation of Labor was not alone in insisting on a more equitable DP law. President Truman, the U.S. Displaced Persons Commission, Congressmen and Senators from both parties, ranking leaders of other labor organizations and of the three major faiths, distinguished men and women in all walks of life and the press throughout the country appealed for the passage of non-discriminatory DP legislation.

As a result, a number of DP bills were introduced in Congress this year. By far the most

comprehensive and containing most of the proposals advanced by the A.F. of L. was the Celler bill, H.R. 4567.

While hearings on the Celler bill were being held, President Green wrote to Ugo Carusi, chairman of the U.S. Displaced Persons Commission, saying:

"It is our firm belief that the United States should admit 100,000 displaced persons a year for four years. We feel that this would be both morally and economically sound, and certainly should not have any adverse effect on our economy."

Once again A. F. of L. legislative representatives called on Congressmen advising them of the Federation's position on the Celler bill and once again A. F. of L. affiliates throughout the country wrote, wired or telephoned their respective Congressmen appealing to them to act favorably on the Celler bill. On June 2 the bill was passed by the House of Representatives with an overwhelming voice vote.

However the Senate Committee on Immigration refused to consider the Celler Bill and various other Senate bills providing for the liberalization of the D.P. Act.

The sixty-eighth annual convention of the AF of L was held while Congress was still in session and went on record in favor of the Celler Bill and urged the Senate to discharge the Subcommittee on Immigration from further consideration of the D.P. legislation.

However, the Celler Bill, "forced out of the Senate Judiciary Committee by some of its liberal members," came to the Senate floor for discussion only a few days before adjournment. The Celler Bill was then re-committed to the Judiciary Committee, and efforts to liberalize the unjust Displaced Persons Act have proved fruitless for the time being.

But despite this failure, the AF of L believes that "equitable displaced persons legislation" is still possible and suggests that there is every reason to believe that, if the Celler Bill had been given an earlier place on the calendar and if so many Senators had not already left for home by the time the vote was taken, the bill would have passed. However, the AF of L's position is fortunately still favorable to legislation, and the

Federationist says: "Our task to secure sound displaced persons legislation remains. Our fight to enable the United States to carry out its obligation to help resettle displaced persons must and will be continued. Through all its channels, the A.F. of L. will keep on pressing for this objective, and its affiliates and members are urged to participate in this cause as actively as they have in the past."

To those who might be somewhat concerned about the effect the admission of displaced persons will have on organized labor, let me quote again from President Green:

"As the president of an organization representing 7,500,000 workers, I am deeply sympathetic to any matter which would affect the condition of the working man. . . . [The DP bill] will not have any adverse bearing on the American workman.

"More than 50 per cent of the displaced persons are women and children. They will not be job competitors.

"The small number admitted each year, many of whom will be directed away from large cities, cannot have any serious effect upon our employment problem."

IRO

THE *Review* has noted before the work of the International Refugee Organization, and a government agency now reports that the General Assembly in December, 1949, authorized the establishment of a High Commissioner's Office for Refugees as of January 1, 1951, to provide for the protection of refugees and displaced persons after the termination of the activities of the IRO. Our own American government, which had opposed this resolution in the Social Committee, supported it in plenary after it had been amended "to define more clearly the categories of persons coming within the competence of the High Commissioner's Office and to retain a greater degree of control in the General Assembly."

THE BRITISH "CITIZENS' ADVICE BUREAUS"

AN ARTICLE in the *London Times* dealing with the "Citizens' Advice Bureaus"

has seemed so interesting from the social welfare point of view that we are reprinting it below.

Some institutions that were born in the war have continued to survive in peacetime because it was realized, before the war ended, that they were doing work which can be of public benefit at all times. Britain's Citizens' Advice Bureaus of today are one example. This voluntary service had been planned in the autumn of 1938, when so many other preparations were made for the welfare of the people in case of war. In 1939 more than 200 bureaus were opened; by the end of the war more than 1,000 were at work. Today there are about 540.

Many different welfare organizations, national and local, shared in the planning of the C.A.B. service. In some towns . . . the initiative in actually setting up a bureau came from the local authorities, but they were none the less modeled on the general pattern and worked in closest contact with local voluntary organizations. Throughout Britain each bureau was in itself an independent, voluntary local unit, and the connecting link between them was the National Council of Social Service to whom the Government made a grant in aid of administrative costs.

Today the National Council of Social Service is still the connecting link between the C.A.B. scattered throughout the country, but many of the bureaus are now assisted financially by the local authorities. In 1945 the Ministry of Health authorized local authorities to set up information centers and empowered them to do this by way of a grant in aid to C.A.B. or other voluntary agencies willing to provide the service for them. This policy was confirmed in the Local Government Act, 1948, and today some 70 per cent of the C.A.B. receive grants from local authorities.

This new and closer association of C.A.B. with local authorities is widely regarded as having definitely assured the bureaus of a place in the life of the community. In a wider sense it is a recognition of the continued usefulness of voluntary organizations in the national and local welfare services. It is a fundamental principle of the C.A.B. service that it shall remain independent and voluntary and thus be free to raise any issue, if a case demand it, with the appropriate authority.

It is natural therefore, that there should be a great variety of local characteristics through

the C.A.B. service. The bureaus of the London metropolitan boroughs, for instance, are run by paid staffs of workers, while those in Birmingham are run by voluntary workers. The contrasting systems each have their merits and there is no inclination within the N.C.S.S. to seek uniformity of practice. Local characteristics are still more apparent if one compares urban C.A.B. with rural, and to a lesser degree those of large cities with small towns.

The C.A.B. in almost its simplest form is well exemplified by that at Chippenham, a market town in Wiltshire with a population of about 8,500. It was started in 1939 by the mayor as a mainly civic enterprise and it developed in close cooperation with voluntary organizations. The wife of the mayor became its principal worker and is still today at the head of the bureau as organizer. During its ten years of service to the community the bureau has become widely known both in the town and in the surrounding countryside. It has the advantage of being centrally situated—an important point—close to the starting place of country buses. Its team of workers, all of whom are women, are known personally to many of the local people, and the whole atmosphere of the bureau is one of friendly helpfulness combined with quiet efficiency.

A remarkable example of a strictly rural C.A.B. is that at Docking, in northwest Norfolk, which is more than a mile from the nearest village and looks after the problems of no fewer than 49 parishes. The Docking bureau is, in fact, a one-man show in which the one man is the devoted servant of the entire community in that part of Norfolk. It is in effect an extension of the local branch of the British Legion or, more precisely, an extension to the general community of the welfare work that occupies the entire leisure of the man who runs the British Legion in this area.

The pattern of the C.A.B. service in Birmingham is naturally somewhat different from that at Chippenham or Docking. In accordance with the high civic tradition of Birmingham it is a model of enterprise and organization. The central C.A.B. in Corporation Street is an integral part of the city's welfare services which are housed in municipal premises with the Birmingham Council of Social Service at the head of the voluntary section. But the variety of local characteristics finds ample expression in the half-dozen bureaus that are not at the center. There is in the heart of Birmingham, for instance, "the kiosk," which is one of the busiest C.A.B. in the

city but is also, as is prominently indicated both outside and inside, a Y.M.C.A. information office.

In the metropolitan boroughs of London the C.A.B. have, right from the start, been organized by the Family Welfare Association, formerly known as the Charity Organization Society. As in Birmingham, some of these bureaux are run in conjunction with welfare settlements whose special resources and familiarity with a neighborhood's social problems have proved a valuable asset. Beyond the metropolitan boroughs, in the suburbs and outlying districts of Greater London, the pattern varies, reflecting in some measure the virility or otherwise of municipal life and voluntary social service.

A pamphlet issued in 1948 by the N.C.S.S. on the subject of C.A.B. had as its title "1,500,000 Questions." It is in the number of questions dealt with at its 540 bureaux scattered throughout Britain that the usefulness of this voluntary service is measured. A record is made at most bureaux of the questions asked, and they are listed under 21 headings. The quarterly returns with which the N.C.S.S. is thus provided give a very fair and useful indication of what problems are puzzling the people of our country.

During the year ended June 30, 1949, the total number of questions dealt with at all the C.A.B. in the country was 1,491,493. Of this number 949,132 were dealt with at those bureaux which make regular and detailed returns to the N.C.S.S. In those returns only 48,859 were classed as miscellaneous, so that 900,273 questions were listed in 20 well-defined categories. Leaving out the category of local information, which accounted for 141,753 questions, the three highest categories were housing (185,918), social insurance (102,704), and family and personal problems (96,531). The figure for housing inquiries remains the highest even if there is added to social insurance the 39,236 questions asked about the national health scheme and other problems classified as health and medical, and to family and personal problems the 39,462 questions about matrimonial problems.

Housing thus stands out as the principal problem of the inquiring citizen, and that is true of every part of Britain. Similarly social insurance has everywhere become a close second to housing since the National Insurance Act came into operation in July, 1948. It is perhaps sig-

nificant of what was expected that the N.C.S.S. handbook "Advising the Citizen," which has been prepared for workers in advice services, should have its Foreword contributed by the Minister of National Insurance. The new emphasis on social insurance is well illustrated in the case of a single London C.A.B. At Paddington during the three months ended January, 1949, there were 301 questions in this category compared with 95 for the same period a year before, and during that time questions about clothes rationing had correspondingly decreased from 371 to 87.

At the 16 C.A.B. in Metropolitan London 100,391 questions were dealt with in the year ended May, 1949. In Birmingham the eight bureaux of the city dealt with about 30,000 problems in 1948; in the smaller town of Chippenham the average number of questions is about 150 a month, and the rural bureau of Docking, in Norfolk, had dealt with 183 inquiries in the first nine months of 1949.

In a rural C.A.B. as remote as that at Docking the number of inquiries is naturally smaller than in a large town, but the service is more intimate and very much more widespread. Here, again, problems in social insurance have increased, but even in this agricultural area housing is the chief problem. If the number of inquiries seems rather small even for such a scattered rural district, it should be borne in mind that, while the local British Legion is, in a sense, the agent inspiring people to make use of the C.A.B. service, it is itself dealing separately with many such problems as they affect members of the legion.

At Docking, moreover, a good deal of solid work is done that is seldom performed at an urban C.A.B. Many of the menfolk of middle age in the rural areas of Norfolk admit that they have never written a letter since their courting days, or, in some cases, since they left school, all the family correspondence being left to their wives. Yet many of these men—smallholders, small farmers, men with small country businesses—have to fill in numerous forms each year, and it is to the C.A.B. that they turn for help. It has been said that nowhere is the need for the C.A.B. service greater than in the country districts; in the Docking area of Norfolk, at any rate, the C.A.B. has become a vital factor in the life of the community.

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THE SLAVE-LABOR INQUIRY

EARLIER notes have called attention to the attempt of the United Nations to investigate slave labor. This attempt was stalled for almost a year, but as we go to press it is scheduled for discussion at the February session of the Economic and Social Council and perhaps earlier at the ILO session in Mysore, India. The UN sent out questionnaires to member nations asking if they would permit an investigative body to enter their borders, but only one-half of the countries replied. At Geneva, last June (1949), the ILO proposed a joint United Nations-ILO investigating commission. The *New Leader* thinks that "behind the scenes" the British are "maneuvering against such an investigation (for obvious colonial reasons), and, of course, so are Russia and its satellites." The reason which is given is that it is best to wait for more answers from member nations. Unless the United States delegation takes a firm lead, the slave-labor issue will not even be debated at the ECOSOC session.

THE MINIMUM WAGE GOES UP

ALONG with the attacks on Congress for the measures that have not been passed, credit should be given for the 1949 amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act. The federal minimum wage has been increased from forty cents to seventy-five cents an hour. Every employer must pay to each of his employees who is engaged in interstate commerce or in the production of goods for such commerce "wages at . . . not less than 75 cents an hour. . . ." This new seventy-five cent minimum-wage rate became effective January 25, 1950, and it has brought direct wage increases to approximately 1,500,000 workers who were receiving less than seventy-five cents an hour.

Questions most frequently asked in Illinois were: What workers come under the new minimum wage? and When will it be effective? The *Illinois Labor Bulletin* contained the following comment:

The Fair Labor Standards Amendments of

1949 exempt some of the workers who were previously covered and bring under the Act other workers not previously included. Just which workers were actually covered on the "fringes" of the original act has been the subject of numerous administrative rulings and court decisions. No doubt, the 1949 amendments will be subjected to a series of interpretative bulletins and court decisions before the scope will be conclusively known.

The wage and hour provisions of the statute cover, subject to various stated exemptions, all employees engaged (1) in interstate commerce, and (2) in the production of goods for interstate commerce. The 1949 amendments changed the wording to "employees . . . directly essential to the production thereof" from "in any process or occupation necessary to the production."

Other changes were made in Section 13 which deals with exemptions. Employees of airlines and those employed in fish and seafood canneries were removed from exemption and thus are covered by the 75¢ minimum.

Covered retail and laundering and cleaning establishments were redefined. When more than 50 percent of their annual dollar volume of sales of goods and services is made within the state in which the establishment is located, these establishments were excluded from the wage and hour provisions.

Among other groups specifically exempted are employees of small newspapers with a circulation of less than 4,000 within local or adjoining counties, employees of local street car, motorbus and taxicab companies, persons engaged in handling, packing, . . . or canning of agricultural or horticultural commodities, switchboard operators employed in a telephone exchange of not more than 750 stations, seamen, and employees in certain forestry and lumbering operations.

WAGE-HOUR AMENDMENTS HELP CHILDREN

THE amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act which were scheduled to go into effect as we go to press, not only raise the minimum wage¹ but also improve the child labor provisions of what is called the "Wage-Hour Law." The recent *Labor Information Bulletin* of the Department of Labor

¹ See above, "The Minimum Wage Goes Up."

contains the following note regarding the additional help for children:

The "break for children" intent of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 is made more meaningful through amendments to the act which will become effective January 25, 1950.

Application of the law's child-labor provisions will be changed in these four major respects:

1. By extending the coverage of the act's child-labor provisions to include the area covered by the minimum-wage and overtime-pay provisions—engagement in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce. Originally, the child-labor provisions applied only to children in establishments producing for interstate commerce.

2. By directly prohibiting employment of "oppressive child labor" (generally, boys and girls under 16 years of age) in interstate commerce or in the production of goods for commerce. Previously, the act provided merely a 30-day restriction on shipment in commerce of goods produced in an establishment where underage minors had been employed.

3. By confining the exemption of child labor in agriculture to periods "outside of school hours for the school district where such employee is living while so employed." Loopholes in the original act resulted in the loss of valuable schooling for thousands of boys and girls because the restriction for such employment was for periods "while not legally required to attend school." Since compulsory school laws vary from State to State, there was unequal application of the law to children employed in agriculture.

4. By making applicable to all boys and girls the act's hazardous occupations orders which set a minimum age of 18 for employment in occupations declared by the Secretary of Labor to be particularly hazardous for young workers. This closes a loophole in the original act under which it was possible for parents to employ their own boys and girls under 16 years of age in nonmining and nonmanufacturing types of hazardous occupations not permitted for any young workers between 16 and 18.

The amendments also broaden the original exemptions from the child-labor provisions of the act for child actors in motion picture and theatrical productions by including "performers" within the meaning of the exemption and by extending the application to radio and television production.

Young workers also are affected by a new exemption in the amendments under which exemption from the minimum-wage and overtime-pay provisions, as well as from the child-labor provisions, is applicable to employees engaged in the delivery of newspapers to the consumer.

TO PREVENT CHILD LABOR

THE National Child Labor Committee has done well to publish the recommendations on child labor adopted by the Sixteenth National Conference on Labor Legislation prefaced by the following brief statements on purpose and progress in child labor legislation:

The Committee [on Child Labor] wishes to stress that the purpose of child labor legislation is to protect children from unsuitable employment, to safeguard their health and to allow them time to take advantage of educational opportunities.

It commends the progress made during the past year in both state and Federal child labor legislation and urges continued cooperative effort between labor commissioners, organized labor and citizens groups to achieve improved standards for working minors through legislation and its effective enforcement.

The standards considered desirable for a sound legislative program were restated in the recommendations and, in addition, the following points were emphasized:

Coverage: The application of child labor laws to employment in all gainful occupations so that the safeguards of the law apply to all employed children. The Committee believes that employment in agriculture should be covered except for work on the child's home farm.

Workmen's Compensation: At least double compensation under workmen's compensation laws in cases of injury to illegally employed minors.

Enforcement: Effective inspection of places of employment by a well-staffed department of labor, with authority in that department to bring legal actions.

The Committee recognizes that adequate appropriations and education are essential parts of a program to abolish undesirable child labor. It urges that a positive program be carried forward by labor commissioners to get the understanding of employers, unions, parents, young work-

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ers, school officials, and the community regarding the purpose and provisions of the child labor law and to obtain the cooperation of citizen groups in vigorous enforcement efforts.

Fact Finding: The Committee recommends to every state that they supply adequate funds to the appropriate state department or commission to carry out a thorough investigation of child labor conditions and thereby call to the attention of the citizens and the Legislature needs for legislative and other action to safeguard the health, education, and employment of our juvenile workers; and the Committee further recommends that the states use the information and assistance of the U. S. Department of Labor in assembling and analyzing child labor facts.

Coordination of Federal and State Child Labor Standards: The Administrator of the Wage and Hour Division is urged to enforce the 1949 amendments to the child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act with all the vigor at his command and the states are urged to adopt standards for intrastate employment that, at least, meet the standards of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Migratory Child Workers: The needs of migratory child workers are a part of the general migratory labor problems of low wages and poor living and working conditions and call for immediate action on many fronts by Federal and state governments.

LOW-INCOME FAMILIES AND THEIR CHILDREN

EVIDENCE on the social effects of low family incomes was prepared by the National Child Labor Committee, in co-operation with other social agencies, for the Subcommittee on Low-Income Families of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report. Mrs. Zimand, general secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, who was a member of the group which presented the evidence at the Sub-Committee hearings on December 19, 1949, has prepared a useful summary of the facts about low-income families and their children for the *American Child*.

The facts about low-income families, assembled by the staff of the Sub-Committee, have been published in a document entitled *Low-Income Families and Economic Stability*. They show that this country, with the

"highest living standards in the world," is still far from having secured "an adequate standard of living for everybody." Some of the outstanding facts were summarized as follows:

1. Nearly 10,000,000 families, or one-fourth of the total number of families, received less than \$2,000 cash income in 1948; 4,000,000 of them received less than \$1,000; one-fifth of the Nation's children are in these 10,000,000 families.
2. Most of the 10,000,000 families are urban or non-farm families but 3,300,000 are farm families and about half of these farm families had cash incomes below \$1,000 in 1948.
3. Families headed by unskilled or semi-skilled workers make up the hard core of the urban low-income group. Other families in the low-income group are headed by persons over 65, or by persons who are handicapped or disabled, or by women who are widowed, deserted or divorced, or by persons with little education, or they are non-white families whose proportion in the low-income group is greater than their proportion in the general population.
4. Lack of education is the most stratifying factor since low income results from it and low income in turn limits the education of the next generation. In the income group below \$2,000, the heads of families between 25 and 64 years of age had not gone beyond the 8th grade in 64% of the cases and only 6% had gone beyond high school. Opportunity for advanced education is determined, not by ability, but by income. Students of superior intelligence have five times as good a chance of going to college when the parental income is over \$5,000 as they have if the income is less than \$5,000. "In the case of the lower-income families," the report says, "so large a proportion of the income must be spent for the bare necessities of life that there is little or nothing left for education, health, or recreation. Thus there arises a tremendous waste of human resources, in the abilities, skills, and vitality of youth in the lower-income groups who are defeated in their educational careers."
5. Among the bare necessities, food amounts to 74% of total expenditures for city families with incomes under \$1,000, 48% for those under \$2,000, and only 17% for those in the \$7,500 or over income group. Rent takes one-third of the income of non-farm families in the under \$1,000 group and one-fourth in the \$1,000-\$2,000 group. Thirty per cent of the dwelling units occupied by these groups are in need of major repairs or lack plumbing as compared with 5% in the group with incomes of \$3,000 or over. For the non-white families the bad housing figure is 60%, not 30%.
6. Low-income farm families have a higher proportion of large families than city or non-farm families with similar income. One-fourth of the farm

families with less than \$1,000 income have more than 5 members, but only one-eighth of city or non-farm families in the under \$2,000 bracket have as many members.

7. Migratory farm workers and regular hired hands constitute only two-fifths of the hired farm laborers but, as the report points out, "Migrant farm workers have included a wide variety of racial and nationality groups, and a disproportionate share of disadvantaged social and economic classes. Their lot is partly shared by other seasonal farm workers in such respects as insufficient employment security, low annual earnings, and deprivation of the protection from social legislation regarding wage-and-hour standards, unemployment compensation, workmen's compensation, and old-age insurance. But migrant farm workers experience special disadvantages in time lost from work in migrating and securing employment, in the low standards of housing and sanitary facilities available to them, and in the lack of educational and other community services for themselves and their children. They usually do not meet residence requirements for public assistance or work relief in times of unemployment. Their working and living conditions often result in higher incidence of the types of diseases associated with insanitary conditions."¹

These are only a few of the facts being used as background material by the Sub-Committee on Low-Income Families in its efforts to determine the economic and social cost to the country of the large low-income group who lack even the minimum necessary for health and decency and who block expansion of production and employment because they cannot buy what the country can produce.

Evidence of the effects of low income on children, presented by Mrs. Zimand to the Sub-Committee at the hearings, showed, first, the relationship between low income and early school leaving which handicaps future earning capacity. This relationship is seen very clearly when a comparison is made of (a) the 16 states with the largest proportion of school-age children in their population, (b) the 16 states with the lowest per capita individual income and (c) the 16 states with the largest number of school drop-outs, for this comparison shows that 10 states fall in all three columns.

Many children in low-income families are obliged to engage in paid part-time employment

¹ Quoted from address by Dr. Louis J. Ducoff on "Socioeconomic Backgrounds of the Migratory Agricultural Labor Situation" before the National Conference on the Church and Migratory Labor, September, 1949.

at early ages and for long hours. This heavy double load interferes with school work, constitutes a threat to health and development and contributes to a child's decision to leave school. Some recent evidence on this point, from a study of 4,000 school children in Texas made in the winter of 1949, was submitted by Mrs. Zimand. This study of school attendance and child labor was made by the National Child Labor Committee as part of a survey of Spanish-Speaking People in Texas which is being conducted under the auspices of the University of Texas with a grant from the General Education Board. The data on the ages of the employed school children in eight communities, including all groups and not merely the Spanish-speaking children, showed the following breakdown:

| | |
|--------------------------|-------------|
| Under 10 years | 154 |
| 11-12 | 636 |
| 13-14 | 1,164 |
| 15-16 | 1,315 |
| 17 and over | 719 |
| No data | 26 |
| | <hr/> 4,014 |

The findings on hours show that 1,229, or 34%, of these children for whom records were available worked 25 hours or more a week in addition to school attendance and that 833 of the 1,229 worked over 30, 40 or 50 hours a week. In the under-14 group there were 208 who worked 25 hours or more a week and 167 of them worked over 30, 40 or 50 hours a week. Nearly half of these school children (1,896) earned wages of less than 50 cents an hour and more than one-third of the 1,896 earned less than 30 cents an hour. In the Latin-American group, the per cent earning less than 35 cents an hour was twice as high as in the Anglo-American group—54% as compared with 27%.

In addition to early school leaving which results from low income and from the heavy work loads school children in these families are obliged to carry, Mrs. Zimand pointed to the early school leaving caused by the fact that high school programs are not related to the needs of the majority of the students. The National Child Labor Committee's study of 1,360 school leavers showed that 69% dropped out for reasons relating to school, as compared with 21% who dropped out for financial reasons. This bears out the estimate of the Commission on Life Adjustment Education for Youth of the U.S. Office of Education that 60% of the stu-

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dents in high school are not receiving the kind of education they need to prepare them for living and for earning a living.

"We believe," said Mrs. Zimand in her statement to the Sub-Committee, "that a very fruitful field for study by this Sub-Committee would be to explore with this Commission the need for changes in the curricula, guidance programs, and other services and activities of the high schools. The attention of the Sub-Committee might also be directed toward the need for more adequate financing of the schools if they are to meet more truly the needs of young people, with special reference to Federal aid to the states for schools."

On the migrant problem, Mrs. Zimand said: "Migrant farm families present, to an aggravated degree, all the 'lacks' associated with low income. Housing and sanitation are wretched; health services are seldom available; the children do not attend school; thousands, even as young as 6 and 7 years, work in the fields; they are ostracized in the communities to which they go for work; there is no normal family life.

"There is great need for a thorough investigation of this low income problem, which is apt to become aggravated during the coming years by the advent of farm machinery—especially cotton picking and beet harvesting machines.

"We hope that this Sub-Committee will be continued and will make a special study, during the coming year, of the problem of migrant farm labor families—if possible holding hearings in various sections of the country. If this cannot be done we urge that the Sub-Committee recommend that such a study be made by the U. S. Department of Labor.

"Specific legislative proposals to curb some of the evils associated with migrant work include: (1) Reconsideration of legislation which requires liquidation of former Federal farm labor camps by July 1, 1950; (2) Extension of minimum wage and social security legislation to agricultural workers; (3) Legislation regulating the recruitment and transportation of workers; (4) Inclusion of provisions for low cost housing for agricultural workers in housing legislation."

MARY IRENE ATKINSON SPOKE FOR CHILDREN

EVEN when we have "applied all the things we know in the most skillful fashion there still remains a no-man's-land in human relationships which few of us ever penetrate."

This was a statement made by Mary Irene Atkinson.

Gertrude Springer and Cheney Jones have rendered a service to the host of friends who cared for Mary Irene Atkinson (1890-1943) and valued her work. They say, quite properly, that the volume¹ they have recently edited is "not a book about but rather a book of Mary Irene Atkinson, prepared by friends as a living memorial that many may have the comradeship which some of us were privileged to enjoy." Here are some of the addresses she made at social work meetings of various kinds. The editors speak of "the significant writing of a busy person who wrote as she ran, so to speak."

These writings have been brought together by a group of friends who formed a Memorial Committee for this purpose. Some of these papers and addresses have been published by the United States Children's Bureau, The Child Welfare League of America, The National Conference of Social Work, the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, The Ohio Conference of Social Work, and The Green Springs *Echo*. . . .

"Mary Irene," as many of her friends called her, went from the Ohio Children's Division of the Board of State Charities in 1924 to the Child Welfare League of America, later to the FERA, and then to the position of director of the Child Welfare Division of the United States Children's Bureau (1935-43).

For four years she was editor of the *Child Welfare League Bulletin*. She wrote articles for *The Survey*, *The Family*, *The Annals*, addresses for the National Conference of Social Work, published in the Conference proceedings, and wrote various pamphlets and reports, as well as extensive surveys in large number. During the busiest years of her professional life she found time to write a column, "Within the Present," for the Green Springs *Echo*, her home town paper, from which selections have been taken for this volume.

Cheney Jones said of her:

"Mary Irene Atkinson was not one who sat in

¹ *Mary Irene Atkinson Speaking for Children* edited by Cheney C. Jones and Gertrude Springer. (Privately printed.) Pp. 192.

her portico. She was not the cloistered thinker. She did her thinking on the job, her conclusions had a work foundation. They were spoken in plain unequivocal Anglo-Saxon. The last time I saw her she gave me such well-informed, such shrewd, and such altogether homely, practical and sound counsel, all so unencumbered with flights of verbal pontificating, and all so permeated with kindness and gaiety that I left her feeling that I must congratulate a nation of parents and children which had such a friend."

THE LAUNDRIES IN IDAHO

THE National Women's Trade Union League has published an account of a long-drawn-out strike in the laundry and dry-cleaning industry in Boise, Idaho, which began in the summer of 1947 and was settled only toward the end of the year 1949. This account, together with comments on working conditions generally for women in Idaho, was sent by Mrs. Dean Smith, international organizer for the Laundry and Dry Cleaning Workers International Union, which was involved in the settlement of the strike.

Union representatives were sent to Boise in August, 1947, after the strike had been going on for two months. They found that the laundry workers were working for as low as forty-five cents an hour, nine hours a day, and the dry-cleaning workers for as low as fifty cents an hour, eight hours a day, six days a week, without overtime pay.

Further, they had worked during the war for as low as 25¢ per hour and as long as 12 and 13 hours per day, 6 and 7 days per week, without overtime pay. Very few of these workers were enjoying rest periods, and it was a rare thing to find an employer who granted vacations with pay. In some of these plants rest room facilities were deplorable, and fire hazards and lighting in the plants were unbelievable, one plant having three floors with a narrow fire escape running from the top floor down between two buildings so close together it would be nothing but a fire trap, and no fire escape from the second floor. . . . No place was provided to sit or rest nor a couch to lie on in case of illness. This plant was poorly lighted.

Children of twelve, thirteen, and fourteen years of age were found working in these laundries. Many of these children were act-

ing as strikebreakers and were working behind picket lines nine hours a day, six days a week, for forty-five cents an hour. Some of the homes were visited, and deplorable conditions were again found. One widow who worked in a laundry had lived in a tent-house for fifteen years and had walked to and from work three miles in an effort to educate her children on her meager pay of forty-five cents an hour. In another home visited it was found that the mother and father were earning fifty cents per hour each, working in dry-cleaning plants, while the two daughters, aged thirteen and fourteen, worked in a laundry for forty-five cents an hour, leaving three small children—aged six years, three years, and eighteen months—home all day alone. These people did not even earn enough to employ a baby-sitter. The shocking thing is that "prices received by these laundries and cleaning plants were as high and in some cases higher than in Portland, Oregon, where the lowest wage in the laundries at that time was 82¢ per hour."

There was no protective legislation for these workers—no state laws to help to protect these working women and young children. The state laws allowed a nine-hour day and seven-day week with overtime pay, and there were no minimum-wage schedules. A child of twelve could work in any industry except mining, and, if he had finished school, he could leave work entirely and earn his own living. The report says:

We went to the proper authorities in an attempt to have something done in regard to such inside conditions, as rest rooms, fire escapes, etc., but met with no success whatever in bettering these conditions. A few of these young children worked in these plants for several weeks after school started, and it took a great deal of effort on our part to interest the authorities enough to get these children back into school. Many children worked in their bare feet, standing all day on cement floors over a hot steaming mantle.

Pictures of some of these children were put in the newspapers, along with a story informing the public of the deplorable condi-

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tions; and in the summer of 1948 children under fourteen years of age were no longer allowed to work in these plants, not because of the law, but rather because of the shame that publicity had brought to the employers.

Finally, the laundry in Boise, where the strike had begun in June, 1947, had fine restrooms installed for women and restrooms for men, with showers, and made a contract for a forty-hour week. Moreover, a lunchroom, with facilities for making coffee and with tables and chairs to be used while eating lunches, was provided. There are couches for the women to lie down if ill. The entire plant has been cleaned and painted, and adequate lighting has been installed. "The wage rate is 75¢ per hour. All work after 40 hours per week is paid at the rate of time and one-half. However, this is the exception, as Idaho is virtually unorganized in the laundry industry. . . . There are only 70 laundry workers under contract in Idaho and the state is an open field for organization."

Working conditions, generally, are said to be very discouraging.

Retail clerks, building service employees, laundry workers, and other women workers in Idaho are still working for as low as 45¢ per hour, 9 hours per day, 6 days per week without any rest periods, vacations or overtime pay, and the employers are not violating any law by allowing this. Also, there is very little protection to workers as far as accidents are concerned. However, during the last legislature, labor became aroused and began to fight for some protection such as neighboring states enjoyed, but there is a long way yet to go, as Idaho ranks with some of the lowest in the United States in regard to protective laws for working women and children.

However, we are reminded that "labor laws alone are not enough" and that it is also necessary to have collective bargaining in establishing decent working conditions in the laundries.

That is, all our states are said to need "laws which will keep children out of the hazardous industries, which will keep them in school longer, which will cut down the

long work week, which will shorten the hours per day and will afford adequate rest periods for the workers."

It is important also to note that a study made in June, 1949, by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor shows that there is still great need for organization of women workers in the laundry industry. This is evident from the wide variation of wage rates and the fact that the laundries operating the longest work schedules were found to be located almost entirely in the cities paying the lowest wages. The National Women's Trade Union League bulletin notes that the study made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics covered the average hourly earnings of men and women laundry workers in selected occupations in thirty-two cities and that the women's occupations selected for the study were flatwork machine ironers (the largest single occupational group), markers, machine shirt-pressers, and bundle-wrappers.

Comparison of city averages showed wide variation. "San Francisco exceeded all other cities in the level of earnings in each occupation—99¢ for flat-work ironers, \$1.17 (highest in the study) for markers, \$1.09 for machine shirt pressers, and \$1.15 for bundle wrappers. Seattle, Portland, and Los Angeles were close seconds. Four other cities—Chicago, Detroit, Toledo, and New York—reported an average of 75¢ or more for each occupation." In all these cities many of the workers are covered by collective bargaining agreements.

Conditions of work were not the subject of study by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, but in 1947 the Women's Bureau made a study of both wages and working conditions in 258 power laundry establishments in 38 cities located in 11 middle western and southeastern states. At that time only 30-40 per cent of the laundry industry's production workers were organized, and conditions of work were very bad in large numbers of plants. "Fully one-fourth of the laundries had poor facilities for drinking water, and in nearly half the laundries washing facilities

for employees were highly unsatisfactory. One-third of the laundries provided poor toilet facilities." As for seats, in only 35 of the 257 laundries where plant facilities were studied was seating rated "good" or "very good." Since most production jobs in laundries require the workers to stand while working, seats are more than ever essential for use during lunch and rest periods or when work is not immediately available. Almost a fourth of all the plants visited provided no seats of any kind for plant workers.

WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE AND A MIDWEST INTER- STATE CONFERENCE

EXCELLENT speakers and active participation in discussion by the delegates made the annual Interstate Conference of the Women's Trade Union Leagues of Illinois and Wisconsin, held in Chicago in December, 1949, a very successful meeting. The Conference was attended by 140 delegates from 61 organizations, representing 32 trade-unions, 13 auxiliaries, 3 label leagues, 7 city central labor bodies, 1 state federation of labor, and 5 Women's Trade Union Leagues (Bloomington, Chicago, Illinois state, Racine, and Milwaukee). Greetings were brought to the delegates from representatives of the Chicago and Wisconsin state federations of labor.

One of the important speakers was Mrs. Anna Hedgeman, who is an assistant to the Federal Security Administrator. Mrs. Hedgeman urged everyone to study the Administrator's *Report to the President on the Nation's Health*. Answering the charge that the proposed National Health Insurance Plan would create a large bureaucracy, Mrs. Hedgeman said: "It is estimated that a relatively small increase in the staff of the Old Age and Survivors Insurance Division will be sufficient to administer the health insurance program." A plea for women to participate in citizens' housing groups in their communities was made by a representative of the Chicago Housing Authority. There were excellent panels on the organization of

women workers and on auxiliaries, which were presided over by officers of the Racine and Illinois state leagues. Among other topics discussed were pending issues in federal and state legislation and employment problems of women in Illinois. These annual state and league conferences form an important part of the program of the National Women's Trade Union League.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR MENTAL HYGIENE

THE National Committee for Mental Hygiene at its fortieth annual meeting had as a guest speaker Dr. John R. Rees, of London, director of the World Federation for Mental Health, who said, "There are none of us who can not add something to the understanding of aggressions, suspicion, greed and those other unlovely characteristics of whose existence we are so conscious in these days."

"You in the United States," Dr. Rees said further, "have for a variety of reasons been forced into a position of responsibility with a burden such as no other nation has had to carry before." He said that much will depend upon the work that "psychiatrists, psychologists, sociologists, educators and others put into these problems."

In his report for 1949, Dr. George S. Stevenson, medical director, said that the mental hygiene committee has divided its attention among the development and proper staffing of clinics over the country, the needs of the mentally ill, and education. Fundamental research in dementia praecox has gone forward, and an inquiry into the use of cortisone for this disease has been initiated.

Another speaker was Albert Deutsch, the author of that useful volume, *The Mentally Ill in America*. Mr. Deutsch received the Lasker Press Award "for public information leading to public action." He was given a reproduction of the Winged Victory of Samothrace and \$500.

The Lasker Award in Mental Hygiene went to Miss Mildred Clare Scoville, executive associate of the Commonwealth Fund,

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"for outstanding contribution to the integration of mental health concepts in medical education and public health." She received a citation and \$1,000.

A NEW HOUSING RESEARCH PROGRAM

A NEW Division of Housing Research of the federal government's Housing and Home Finance Agency was announced before January 1, 1950. Eight fields of housing research are said to have been blocked out for the government's "first large-scale venture in this field," and it is expected that they will be under way during the current year. It is estimated that the first year's program will cost \$2,333,000. Of this amount, \$1,008,000 is allocated to the work to be done by the new division directly. The newly appointed director is Dr. Richard U. Ratcliff, of the University of Wisconsin, who assumed his duties on January 2. The remainder of the budget, \$1,325,000, is to go into technical research to be done under contract by or with various public and private research institutions and laboratories.

Cited as instances of the type of research which might be eligible in such research grants were the small house studies of the University of Illinois, the research in the prefabrication field at Purdue University and the work on control of condensation at the Universities of Minnesota and Iowa.

To be able to bring down costs is considered the heart of the housing program, with middle-income as well as low-income families thought of, if confronted by serious housing problems.

One aim of the new research division will be to test out the more promising cost-saving possibilities already developed by industry, foundations, and educational institutions, and to make the results available for practical use in home building throughout the country.

Actual building demonstrations in perhaps three areas of the nation may be undertaken. These would consist of experimental houses built by educational institutions having facilities for such work, on their land, and using private builders. A feature would be time studies to compare new methods with conventional ones.

In an initial pilot study, the HHFA developed a less costly but more efficient type of septic tank to be used in areas unserved by a city sewage system, and also a more economical type of roof construction. It was estimated that savings resulting from these two developments would have totaled about \$20,000,000 if they had been used in connection with one-tenth of the housing built in 1948.

The eight fields blocked out for housing research are:

1. Cost data and analysis. This will involve development of national and regional cost records and a method for computing an index for construction costs so that the level and trend of costs can be studied.

2. Housing credit and finance. A periodic review of the mortgage market would be worked out, so that shifts in mortgage financing, such as the tightening up of mortgage credit last year and this, may be understood and analyzed. A specialized finance study into prefabrication, to find out what has hampered its development, may be undertaken.

3. Housing market analysis; figures in this field are notably lacking.

4. Developing of housing statistics, with the 1950 census as starting point, and a reliable system of making estimates to keep housing figures current. . . .

5. Building codes. Development of a model code which will permit use of new materials and eliminate unnecessary costs.

6. Construction practices. The proposed university campus demonstration houses would fall in this category; also studies of large-scale development of single-family houses as a means of cutting costs.

7. Residential design. Such projects as simplified and more economical plumbing systems and development of small economical heating systems for homes are suggested.

8. Engineering data and statistics. Proposed are precise engineering data to make it unnecessary for a single family to brace floors as though they were to be used for commercial buildings.

ARE WE FAIR TO THE INDIANS?

WE THINK of the Indians as a minority group whose injustices are for the most part in the past. But recently there has been complaint about four young Indians who were sentenced last October to a combined total of fifty-six years in the peniten-

tiary for the theft of one sheep in Juliaetta, Idaho, under an old pioneer law invoked for the first time in decades. The sheep, said to be worth at the most \$15.00, was returned alive to the owner; but the sentence stands and is said by friends of the Indians to be a "monument to the persistence of the generations-old pioneer hatred of the Indian."

The boys, aged nineteen to twenty-one, were off the reservation and had been drinking in celebration of the birth of a son to one of them. They were assured by the prosecuting attorney that they could count on leniency if they would plead guilty. After the sentence of fourteen years for each of them, they sought the help of counsel, but the counsel's plea to the judge to set aside the sentence and for permission to enter a plea of "Not guilty" was denied.

The Association on American Indian Affairs, which has taken up the case, has given out a letter from the United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who wrote:

My only purpose is to let you know of our previous concern over this matter as well as our apparent legal inability to do anything about it, and also to express my own indignation. It strikes me that the stealing of one sheep, which was later returned to the owner, according to the press report, even if proven in court, certainly would not merit a 14-year sentence. If I remember correctly, a man who admittedly absconded with thousands of dollars from a bank some months ago was sentenced to only 5 years. Somehow I cannot help feeling that the less one steals, especially if he is an Indian, the heavier the sentence. Hence I am happy to learn that your Association will take steps to investigate this matter.

There is said to have been a protest from native Idahoans against this sentence. The Association is trying to maintain the "historic American tradition of equal justice for all" and is preparing to file a brief, *amicus curiae*, in the Supreme Court of Idaho and to carry the appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, if necessary.

The Association explains that the case is important, "not only because the lives of these four young Indians and of their families will be destroyed if this sentence is car-

ried out, but because this case is but one of an ever-increasing number in which Indians are exploited, humiliated and discriminated against. If we are to safeguard justice and equal opportunity for the descendants of the first Americans we need the support of every sympathetic citizen."

A letter published by the *Christian Science Monitor* quotes from a newspaper in Moscow, Idaho:

"Four Indian youths, who are in county jail here awaiting transfer to the state penitentiary at Boise to serve terms of 14 years each for stealing a sheep October 8, failed today in an attempt to secure a rehearing. . . .

"In a complaint filed this week end, the four claimed they did not understand the meaning of the charge (grand larceny) filed against them, and that they were led to believe they could expect light jail sentences or fines by pleading guilty."

This case illustrates the extreme prejudice against the Indian which exists in some of our western states.

AN ANTIGENOCIDE TREATY

THAT thirty-nine nations have signed a convention against genocide is noted editorially in the *New York Times*, which describes the situation as follows:

Genocide is a new term for an old crime—the intentional destruction of human beings because of national, racial, ethnic or religious prejudices. History has all the examples, the most recent of which are the destruction of Armenians in the First World War, the destruction of Europe's Jewry in the Second World War, the abductions of Greek children to Russian satellite states. The United Nations convention states that genocide can be committed by killings, by organized slow death such as concentration and labor camps, by sterilizations and the breaking up of families. In short, it makes hatred its standard-bearer, strengthening conquerors and dictators, striking at the roots of society.

The *Times* is undoubtedly right in saying that "there is no disagreement on these points. On the contrary, the General Assembly on December 11, 1948, after two years of study, voted unanimously to adopt a treaty on the crime of genocide." However,

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"only half a dozen nations have ratified it, though it requires ratifications by at least twenty parliaments and Congress before becoming law. There is little justification for this indifference and delay. There is real need for the continued, inspired leadership of the United States."

Last June the President, in transmitting a copy of the convention to the Senate, urged "that the Senate advise and consent to my ratification of this convention." Americans in all walks of life—educators, businessmen, religious and labor leaders—have given it their support. Hearings before a special Subcommittee on Genocide were to begin in the Senate early in the present year. "To a country that believes in democratic progress and international law and order, the next steps are clear—to speed the hearings, to speed ratification."

MIGRANTS' CHARTER IS URGED IN GENEVA

AT AN international gathering of private relief and welfare organizations in Geneva early in the present year the question of stateless people was an important subject of discussion. Some of the organizations represented, including the IRO, seemed convinced that a mobilization of world opinion can be carried out more effectively by voluntary organizations, many of which have powerful church backing, than by the United Nations itself. The *New York Times* reports that the Roman Catholic welfare organization, Caritas Internationalis, proposed a declaration of migrants' rights to help meet the persistent and hitherto insoluble problems of persons forced by political or economic pressures to seek new homes in strange lands.

The *Times* reported further:

The Caritas proposal calls for a former international statement of the rights of persons who, by choice or necessity, become migrants. It declares, that they should be free to leave any country and free to choose where they wish to go—in practice, to refuse to be sent where they do not wish to go. They should have the right to full information about conditions in countries

seeking to induce them to immigrate, the proposal says, and they should have the right to keep their families intact. No single practice has received more condemnation in these discussions than that of Canada and other countries of insisting that displaced persons becoming immigrants must, in numerous cases, leave their families behind.

A special point is made of the migrant's right to choose his work and practice his profession, if any. Many countries in South America operate a virtual indenture system not unlike that of the American colonies in the Seventeenth Century, which binds immigrants to certain jobs for many years. Virtually no country permits immigrant doctors, dentists and lawyers to practice without passing through expensive and often deliberately burdensome procedures.

JEWISH RESETTLEMENT OF D.P.'S

AT A conference of the United Service for New Americans early this year it was reported that American Jewish communities had spent \$37,000,000 in the last five years to finance the "greatest voluntary resettlement program in the history of the United States." The president of the United Service for New Americans reported that one-hundred thousand homeless European Jews, the majority of them sole survivors of families that were lost in Nazi crematoriums and concentration camps, had "found sanctuary and an opportunity to begin life anew on American shores" since 1945.

The United Service, the United Palestine Appeal, and the Joint Distribution Committee are all beneficiary agencies of the United Jewish Appeal, and it was said that

\$37,000,000 constituted a "very minimum estimate of the amount spent on resettlement of homeless Jews here," as it included only funds spent by the United Service to meet the initial needs of the newcomers.

"American Jews demonstrated in 1949 and will again in 1950 demonstrate their readiness to participate actively in the DP program by making available the necessary job and housing assurances in accordance with provisions of the DP Act of 1948."

The report in the *New York Times* said that "380 communities cooperated with the

agency last year to provide jobs and homes for Jewish newcomers from European DP camps" and predicted that the United Jewish Appeal "would raise more funds in 1950 than in any year since the Appeal was established."

IDLE YOUTH IN GERMANY

THE possible danger of having more than a half-million youth in western Germany between the ages of fourteen and eighteen who are out of school and unemployed is reported from Frankfurt to the *New York Times*. This information came from a detailed study prepared by German sources and cited by the Youth Section of the United States High Commissioner's Office. Those responsible for the survey believe that "evidence is already increasing today that the needy youth are seeking a way out of a hopeless situation through political radicalism."

The disinherited youth in Germany should undoubtedly be a matter of concern, but it is to be hoped that the possible danger may be exaggerated. The statement in the *Times* is in part as follows:

Unless there is greater progress in the development of cooperative youth societies, the danger exists that German youth will fall under the political domination of authoritarian forces, these officials said.

Among the conclusions drawn from the statistical survey, two non-political dangers also were cited. The report held that the West German economy was affected, because while there was a large number of unemployed there was at the same time a paucity of craftsmen, and the youth got no opportunity to learn trades.

The survey also declared that the existence of a large segment of needy young people in Germany bred anti-social, if not criminal, attitudes, and warned, "singly or in bands, the youth will press for a livelihood and will create a menace to public safety."

Many of the black markets in Germany, it was noted, are sustained by gangs of young men.

One of the gravest effects of this situation, the survey said, is that the young people in need think of themselves as chronic misfits. With many of these youths angry at the world in general, their basic attitudes are governed by the

idea that democracy is something peculiarly American and that Americans are responsible for the disaster that befell Germany in the war.

In Bavaria alone, it was estimated, 244,462 children and youths lost their fathers in the war and 3,455 of this number lost their mothers as well through bombing attacks.

The total of boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 18 who are not in school or employed was estimated at 510,000.

These figures, based on the United States and British zones, indicate that more than half of these unemployed youths are girls.

According to the survey, fifty youths a day seek to join the French Foreign Legion and 95 per cent of them are turned down for various reasons.

AN APPEAL BY THE GERMAN RED CROSS

THE German Red Cross is reported to have said, early in January, 1950, that Poland would probably expel three hundred thousand Germans from Polish-occupied Silesia this year and appealed for funds to help "these poorest of the poor."

The statement of the German Red Cross in the *New York Times* was that "these 300,000 men, women and children will have only the clothes on their backs when they arrive. They will bring no luggage, and it will be a terrible trek for these poorest of the poor, who will need not only food but all essential items of clothing." The report in the *Times* continued:

A British spokesman confirmed the Red Cross report in part, saying that "Allied and German authorities have agreed to accept an initial shipment of 25,000 refugees to be absorbed into the British zone." He said the first trainload was expected in Friedland early next week.

Other officials said another 25,000 Germans from Czechoslovakia probably would migrate to the United States this summer.

The appeal for funds was directed to auto owners in the British zone. They were asked to contribute 6.50 marks (\$1.50) for refugee relief. An official said 10,000 replies had already been received.

West German officials were alarmed at the prospect of receiving more refugees. There are already 7,500,000 of them in the United States,

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British and French zones and refugee care is a major problem for the Western regimes.

POSTWAR INCREASE IN YOUTHFUL OFFENDERS IN BRITAIN

A SERIOUS increase, of "about 25 per cent," in the number of children and young persons who were found guilty of indictable offenses in Britain in the last year (1948) for which statistics are available is said, in an article in the *New Statesman and Nation*, to have "given rise to considerable anxiety." While there is said to be "no one clear cause," it is pointed out that "very few of those who appear in the Courts are above the average in intelligence, or come from homes where both parents are living happily together in a district which is devoid of slums and which has adequate open spaces."

There is no discussion of the possible effects of the war—and there is usually an increase in juvenile delinquency during and soon after a great war—but attention is called to the effect of the 1948 Criminal Justice Act, which provides a new form of treatment in detention centers, to which a young person can be sent for a period of three to six months and where the regime will be constructive but will entail strict discipline and hard work. Unfortunately, however, since these centers do not yet exist, the writer intimates that when "they do they will be an unsatisfactory form of treatment without supervision by a Probation Officer at the expiration of the order."

The Act also provides for Attendance Centres, to which a boy can be sent for 3 hours at a time on a Saturday afternoon for not more than 12 hours. But these rarely exist, and when they do, it is doubtful whether there will be sufficient boys from any one area to make them workable. At present, the only power of punishment which the Court has is to order the boy to be detained in the [Detention] Home for a period up to one month. But the [Detention] Home is a place of safety for those awaiting trial or on their way to an Approved School. It is impossible to deal satisfactorily with these three types of cases in the same institution.

There is, however, another aspect of the

problem. It is generally felt that the parents are often more to blame than the children. But now that recognisances are, under the 1948 Act, no longer necessary in probation cases, the only way the Court can bring home to parents their responsibilities is to bind them over in high sureties under Section 55 of the Children and Young Persons Act to see that their child behaves himself during the specified period. The more the parents are made to realize that they themselves may get punished by having to pay the surety or go to prison, the more are they likely to co-operate with the Probation Officer.

To the general public the Court may appear sometimes to be too lenient and to place the same child on probation more than once. To send him to an Approved School for a period which may sometimes be even longer than three years must surely be the last resort. Excellent as the training is in most of the schools, nothing can really replace in the heart of the child the longing to remain in his own home. Only when the parents refuse to co-operate or the child requires a much more ordered life than they could ever provide for him does the Court, therefore, use this extreme measure. Thus it is extremely annoying when Quarter Sessions, not understanding all the experimental work which has been done with the child, reverses the order on appeal and either places him on probation yet again or else, as sometimes happens, fines him.

Although the quantity of delinquency has increased, on the whole the seriousness of the crimes committed has not. Very few of the children who come before the Courts are really bad. Given the right environment and a good home, most of them can be turned into first-class citizens.

NONWORK-SICKNESS INSURANCE

A USEFUL discussion of the trend in state labor legislation toward the payment of benefit to workers who are unemployed because they are not able to work as a result of illness not connected with employment appeared in a recent number of the *Labor Information Bulletin*. Five states—Rhode Island, California, New Jersey, New York, and Washington—now provide what is called "non-work sickness insurance," and the *Bulletin* reporting this legislation was written before the new Disability Law of New York had gone into effect.

A workman injured on the job receives workmen's compensation benefits for the loss of time from his job due to injury; a workman laid off from one job and unable immediately to get another one receives unemployment compensation. Such benefits have been paid generally for many years and are now paid in every State. However, a workman who is unemployed and unable to accept a job because of sickness not connected with his job does not fare so well. Until very recently the theory that such a worker should receive compensation was not accepted in any State. However, a beginning has now been made in providing for this type of compensation.

Rhode Island was the pioneer State in enacting legislation to provide non-work sickness insurance. That State's law became effective May 10, 1942, with payment of benefits beginning in April 1943. California passed a sickness disability law in 1946 and New Jersey followed in 1947. In 1949 both Rhode Island and California amended their laws to provide increased benefits, and two additional States—New York and Washington—passed laws providing for this type of compensation, making five States in all having such laws. The operation of the Washington law, however, has been suspended pending a referendum at the November 1950 election.

While the laws of these five States are for similar purposes, there are many variations. In general they apply to persons who are unable, because of physical or mental condition, to perform their regular or customary work. Except in New York coverage is the same as that under the State unemployment compensation law. In New York an employer is covered if he has had four or more employees for at least 30 days during the year.

To be eligible to accept benefits under these acts, the employees must work a certain length of time or earn a certain amount of money during a base period. The base period is a specified period of time prior to the disability. In Rhode Island the worker needs to earn \$100 in the base period, in California \$300, and in Washington \$600. In New Jersey he must earn 30 times the weekly benefit amount. In New York an employed worker is qualified if he has worked 4 consecutive weeks prior to his disability, while an unemployed worker is eligible if he had earned at least \$13 in each of 20 weeks during the last 30 he was employed. The New York law also covers an unemployed worker who would

qualify for unemployment compensation, except for the fact that he has become ineligible for such benefits due to illness.

Benefits payable under the acts of California and Washington, and under the 1949 amendment in Rhode Island, range from \$10 to \$25 a week for a maximum period of 26 weeks during the benefit year. The rate in New Jersey is \$9 to \$22 a week up to 26 weeks. The New York benefits are payable from \$10 to \$25 per week up to a maximum of 13 weeks during the year. The total maximum amount that may be paid during any one benefit year is now \$650 in Rhode Island, as in California; it is \$572 in New Jersey, \$338 in New York, and \$600 in Washington.

California is the only State providing special additional benefits under this type of law. A 1949 act in that State provides for hospital benefits of \$8 a day up to a maximum of 12 days during any one benefit year.

There is a 7-day waiting period in each of the five States, applying to each period of disability in some cases, or to each benefit year in others. Medical certification is required in connection with at least all initial claims for benefits. The State plans are financed by special employer-employee contributions.

The administration of the California, New Jersey, Rhode Island, and Washington acts is coordinated with the program of the Unemployment Insurance Administration in each State. The New York law is administered by the Workmen's Compensation Board.

Private plans are permitted in all the States except Rhode Island, if such plans conform to certain standards, such as requiring that benefits be at least equal to those under State plans.

NOTES FROM THE PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS

OUR readers will, we think, be glad to have the photograph of John C. Kidneigh, who was president of the American Association of Schools of Social Work last year and was re-elected at the Thirty-first Annual Meeting of the AASSW, held in Milwaukee, January 22-25, 1950.

A statement regarding the reasons why students choose social work as a career suggests that social work is chosen chiefly because the students want to work with people and, in so doing, to find personal and

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job satisfaction. At least, this seems to be the main reason given by a majority of the 1,171 students from thirty-two schools of social work that co-operated with the American Association of Schools of Social Work in the request for information.

The National Council on Social Work Education asked for the data for the study of social work education being conducted by Ernest V. Hollis. Most of the schools asked the students to write brief, unsigned statements giving their reasons for choosing social work as a profession and for coming to a school of social work. The *New York Times* reported as follows:

Over 50 per cent said that they wanted to work with people. Twelve per cent of this group said specifically that they wished to gain a better understanding of the behavior, attitudes and relationships of people, why they have personal difficulties, and what can be done to help them.

Job security was an important reason, in that 21 per cent said they entered the field because of this factor. They cited the demand for trained social workers, the expanding opportunities in social work, and the chance for advancement.

Fifteen per cent mentioned their desire to work for the improvement of social and economic conditions and said that they believed social work offered the best opportunity to do this.

Eight per cent of the students said they had entered social work because, as a result of vocational counseling and testing, they considered their qualifications best suited to this field.

Interest in social work developed primarily through undergraduate courses, discussions with faculty, lectures, and visits to agencies and vocational counseling. Five per cent said their interest was a result of war experience, and others mentioned the influence of certain individuals and their personal experiences with social service agencies. Seventeen per cent referred to previous employment experience in social work.

The findings of the survey are said to indicate that undergraduate colleges and graduate schools of social work should work together with regard to increasing and improving counseling service at the undergraduate level and a better interpretation of professional opportunities in social work and educational requirements for the profession.

In honor of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Virginia Robinson's association with the University of Pennsylvania School of Social Work, the Alumni Association of that school is sponsoring an award for contributions to social work literature. A sum of money contributed by alumni of the school, by other professional social workers, and by friends of Dr. Robinson will be used for this purpose.

The award committee is offering the sum of \$500.00 as the award during the year 1950 for a paper, thesis, or book which represents an original contribution in the fields of social case work, supervision, or teaching. The award will be made in the fall of 1950. Unpublished material may be submitted to the committee by agencies, schools, or individuals prior to July, 1950.¹

The national Delta Gamma fraternity is again offering a Grace Abbott Fellowship in Public Welfare of fourteen hundred dollars for 1950-51 in honor of Grace Abbott, who was a member of Delta Gamma when she was a student at the University of Nebraska. Application blanks may be obtained from the secretary of the Fellowship Committee, Miss Blanche Garten, 1827 A Street, Lincoln 2, Nebraska, before April 25, 1950.

Dr. Harry M. Cassidy, director of the School of Social Work at the University of Toronto, has been granted a three months' leave of absence for a United Nations assignment in Egypt. The Social Affairs Division of United Nations is sending Dr. Cassidy to advise the Egyptian government on social welfare measures.

The National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs is offering a \$2,000 fellowship to a woman for research in vocational counseling for girls in high schools located in cities other than metropolitan. Further information is available from the Federation at 1819 Broadway, New York 23, New York.

¹ Further information is available from the Virginia P. Robinson Award Committee, University of Pennsylvania School of Social Work, 2410 Pine St., Philadelphia 3, Pa.

Ben Meeker, faculty member of the University of Indiana's Division of Social Service, has been appointed chief probation officer for the United States District Court of Northern Illinois (Chicago). He was to assume his new duties on February 6, 1950.

With Mr. Meeker's appointment the probation office in Chicago has been made a center for the in-service training of probation officers who may be voluntarily assigned to the office for brief periods of in-service instruction by district courts in the central part of the country.

The chief judge of the district court for the northern Illinois district, Judge John P. Barnes, had said that he wished to appoint a new chief of outstanding ability who would be capable of putting the probation office of the court upon a high plane of efficiency so that the office might be used for in-service training of both newly appointed probation officers and other officers who might wish to increase their proficiency through further instruction with the consent of the courts served in a large area accessible to Chicago and to the University of Chicago School of Social Service Administration, which was ready to collaborate and to give substantial support and aid in such a program.

It was said that the amount of in-service training given to federal probation officers at the present time, consisting mainly of discussion classes conducted in the different regions of the country for periods of less than a week every other year, was very limited and that it was highly desirable to give the probation officers more instruction in reference to their duties of pre-sentence investigation and of supervision of probationers and paroled prisoners. The establishment of the probation office in Chicago as a training center for probation officers who might be authorized by their courts to attend it would probably improve the character of the work done by the federal probation system.

It was thought that there would be a test of in-service training under the favorable conditions presented in the Chicago office because of its convenient accessibility to a large part of the country.

The *Review* has reported before about the United States government scholarships for graduate study abroad under the Fulbright Act, which are provided from the funds due the United States from the sale of surplus property in the following countries: Australia, Austria, Belgium and Luxemburg, Burma, China, Egypt, France, Greece, India, Iran, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, Turkey, and the United Kingdom. This program is expected to continue for some years, and may include other countries later.

Although final selection is made by the Board of Foreign Scholarships appointed by the President, certain agencies have been designated to assist in the preliminary selection of candidates by the Department of State, which administers the program of educational exchanges under the Fulbright Act. These agencies' include the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, Washington, D.C.; United States Office of Education, Division of International Educational Relations, Federal Security Agency; and the Institute of International Education, Fulbright Division, New York, N.Y., or any campus Fulbright program adviser.

Awards are made entirely in the currencies of the participating countries and ordinarily cover transportation, tuition, books or equipment, and maintenance for one academic year. All arrangements for transportation are made by the Commission or the Foundation abroad or by the Department of State. The maintenance allowance varies according to the cost of living in each participating country. It is sufficient to meet normal living expenses during one year's study, but it does not cover the expenses of a family, although when the student is accompanied by a dependent the maintenance grant may be somewhat higher. Transportation of dependents is the financial responsibility of the student.

A veteran may choose to postpone his G.I. benefits until his return and depend upon Fulbright funds exclusively for normal

* See this *Review*, XXIII (December, 1949), 518.

expenses. Partial grants are also available where scholarships or benefits are available from other sources. Thus, a partial grant, such as for travel, may be made to supplement such funds. Awards of supplementary funds, however, will be made on the basis of competition of applicants for full scholarships. However, student grants are not made for attendance at summer schools, international conferences, or for other projects of shorter duration than a full academic year. The terms of the Fulbright Act require affiliation with an educational institution.

The Department of State has announced that these United States government awards for foreign study, research, and teaching will provide approximately six hundred awards for graduate study or research in eleven countries during the academic year 1950-51. The basic eligibility requirements for student awards are American citizenship, a college degree or its equivalent by the time the candidate takes up his award, and a knowledge of the language of the country sufficient to carry on his proposed study or project.

The Institute of International Education has issued a leaflet to almost one thousand institutions of higher learning in this country suggesting that they encourage and recommend qualified students who are now enrolled. This is a major attempt in fostering international understanding and advancing knowledge through the exchange of students.

IN MEMORIAM

SUSAN MYRA KINGSBURY, 1870-1949

SUSAN M. KINGSBURY, professor emeritus of social economy at Bryn Mawr College, was at one time well known in the field of social work education. Born in California, she attended a smaller western college and

later received higher degrees from Stanford University and from Columbia University. From 1915, when she was named Carola Woerishoffer Professor of Social Economy at Bryn Mawr, to 1936, when she retired, she made every effort to organize the new department to give professional education in the field of social welfare and social research. She had done some earlier distinguished research work in history and had taught at Vassar and later was professor of economics at Simmons College and head of the department of research of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union in Boston for eight years. She served as chairman of Pennsylvania's first minimum wage board.

She made firsthand studies of women at work in Russia, and was co-author of *Factory, Family, and Women in the Soviet Union*, which was a comprehensive picture of women's place in Soviet Russia.

For nearly a decade Dr. Kingsbury was chairman of the American Association of University Women Committee on Economic and Legislative Status of Women (now the Status of Women Committee).

JEFFREY R. BRACKETT, 1860-1949

BORN in Massachusetts, Jeffrey Richardson Brackett was a Harvard graduate but did graduate work at Johns Hopkins, and in 1900 he was lecturing there on philanthropy and social work and was president of the Department of Charities and Correction of Baltimore (later the Board of City Charities).

Also in 1904 Dr. Brackett established—and directed for sixteen years—the Boston School of Social Work, which later became the Simmons College School of Social Work. He served for thirty years as a member of the Massachusetts Board of Public Welfare.

The older generation of social workers looked on Jeffrey Brackett as one of the pioneers in a new field before the term "social work" was used.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE BRITISH HOME HELP SERVICE

To the Editor:

The argument over the central features of the British National Health Service Act has distracted the attention of the American public from its less controversial aspects. Thus the Home Help Service, one of its less publicized features, is probably not known to most American social workers. Yet this unpretentious innovation goes a long way to fill a need which, in the writer's experience, is being quite inadequately met in the United States.

The Home Help Service is designed to provide each community with a group of capable and reliable women who are trained to take the place of the housewife in case of sickness. During the war the government had encouraged such assistance for the wives of men away in the armed forces. In view of the favorable effects on recovery and family morale that were readily apparent, it was only natural that such a scheme should be embodied among the (permissive) provisions of the National Health Service Act. At the time of writing, the majority of urban and rural communities have employed a number of "home helps." In some localities, special training schemes and tests for prospective candidates were worked out, but in most others the organizers relied on the recruitment of experienced housewives of the forty-to-fifty-five-year group. To perform their roles as substitute housewives, these women obviously must know how to take care of children, to cook, to do the family washing and cleaning up, and, in general, to maintain the home in a satisfactory condition so as to keep the patient from worrying. It is considered equally essential that they have a liking and understanding of people and an ability to fit themselves smoothly into households of vastly differing standards. It is always emphasized that they are not to perform any nursing duties whatsoever. In the United States the rather loosely defined occupation of "practical nursing" approximates most closely to these "home helps."

A large city such as Manchester (approximately 800,000 inhabitants) now employs and keeps busy about sixty home helps. To utilize

their services for the best welfare of the community, an organizer working from a central office examines the urgency of the requests for help received and determines the proportion of the cost to be assessed to the patient and her family. These requests may originate from the patients themselves or may be referrals from health visitors, hospital almoners, or physicians. This job of the organizer involves actual social work, but a good knowledge of home management and administrative skill are equally important. Present job qualifications are kept somewhat flexible for this reason. The organizer and the home helps are expected to be alert to problems other than the illness itself and to call on other agencies for assistance to the family wherever necessary. How broadly the functions of the Home Help Service are interpreted depends mostly on the initiative and good sense of the staff.

Even in a welfare state, not every sick person can resort to this public service. The National Health Service Act itself roughly sets up certain priority categories—maternity cases, incapacitated old people. At the present time it seems that the emphasis is on postconfinement care when the family is unable to make other arrangements. The aged are frequently assisted on a part-time basis, with one home help taking care of several invalids and semi-invalids who otherwise might have to be sent to an institution. Many families are aided also during and after the mother's hospitalization for other reasons than confinement.

Patients pay for the services of the home helps according to their means, the scale of charges being determined locally. A certain number of applicants who would be assessed the full cost are said to turn down the service as soon as it is made clear to them that it is not a device for obtaining cheap domestic labor. Others in this class, however, are very appreciative of the quality of the help made available to them. On the other hand, families who could never have afforded help in an emergency are now provided with a reliable substitute for the sick housewife at little or no cost to them—the "unassessed" balance being contributed equally by the local and national treasuries. At this time the service does not pay for itself and is not like-

ly to be rendered self-supporting if it is adequately to perform its functions.

Social workers will realize how much such a service can reduce the emotional and physical strain accompanying sickness, that it may well speed recovery and also prevent otherwise unavoidable absenteeism and loss of income of the head of the household. It is claimed, too, that in some instances home helps have introduced many practical improvements in the management of the home in which they have been called to serve.

It is this observer's impression that the Home Help Service could be expanded considerably without encroaching upon other established occupations or lessening family responsibility. It may well be that current assessment practices, which require a family with a very moderate weekly income of £8-£10 to pay out over £5 for assistance by a home help, tend to encourage less satisfactory but less expensive arrangements on their part. Also it is almost certain that a large number of potential beneficiaries

have not been sufficiently aware of the existence of the Home Help Service in their communities, in spite of recurrent publicity in the press and through public agencies. One must also take into consideration the traditional reluctance of British women to leave their homes and families in charge of a complete stranger. (Indeed, fears were voiced at the outset that such an intruder might disrupt even the morals of the household. This writer has been assured that the record of the service has proved these fears to be 100 per cent unfounded!)

While some local authorities may consider a further expansion of their Home Help Service to meet their local needs in a more adequate fashion, no major changes are likely to come on a nation-wide scale, in view of the economy cuts in the British social services. Perhaps this brief survey will induce American social workers to test the need for, and the usefulness of, some such scheme in their own communities.

GITTA UNGER-MEIER

MANCHESTER, ENGLAND

BOOK REVIEWS

Social Work as Human Relations: Anniversary Papers of the New York School of Social Work and the Community Service Society of New York. New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. Pp. viii+288. \$3.75.

The Family in a Democratic Society: Anniversary Papers of the Community Service Society of New York. New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. Pp. viii+287. \$3.75.

When a social agency and a school of social work celebrate their one hundred and fiftieth anniversaries, respectively, and when, in commemoration of this event, they publish two books pertinent to their ongoing functions, they are to be congratulated doubly. To mark a century of the work of the Community Service Society of New York and a half-century of professional education by the New York School of Social Work come these two volumes of the papers presented at their anniversary meetings. Both books are characterized by their forward-looking articles. Both hold material that is challenging to current thinking in the field of social thought, social work practice, and social work education. Both have articles that are provocative and stimulating to reflective and imaginative thinking about human problems and human welfare.

Of the two books, *Social Work as Human Relations* is the more outstanding. Within its sections on "Theory and Techniques," on "Professional Training," and on "Vistas in Human Relations," physicians, lawyers, social scientists, administrators, and educators, both within and outside social work, present some aspects of their thinking. It is heartening to read these articles written by persons of such different professional backgrounds and specializations and to recognize the oneness of their feeling and philosophy about the worth of the human being and the values inherent in the pursuit of the democratic ideal. But it is even more heartening (perhaps because it so vividly demonstrates the possibilities of individual difference within social integration) to note the ramifications and variations of thought which radiate out from that nuclear center of agreement.

The selection for special mention of single articles becomes a troubling task, because it in-

evitably reflects not an objective judgment of excellence but rather the particular bias or interest of the reviewer at the moment of reading. With the admission of that bias of interest, this reviewer mentions the following articles as especially stimulating: Gordon Hamilton's restatement and reaffirmation of case work's basic concepts and methods because of its lucidity and integrity; the papers by Arlien Johnson, Benjamin Youngdahl, and Charlotte Towle on aspects of professional training, because they stake out new areas of thinking in professional education; an article by Irwin Edman, because he writes with charm and insight on what has not been developed enough—the relation of the humanities to professional endeavors; Malcolm Sharp's acute discussion of the management and control of aggression on the level of family and international relationships; Eduard Lindeman's paper "Science and Philosophy: Sources of Humanitarian Faith" for its vision; the paper by L. C. Dunn on "The Scientific Spirit and Human Welfare" for its revealing of both the clarity and grace with which the scientific mind can view the problems of human welfare. And with a glance back through the book, one's interest is caught by parts of a number of other papers, too many to mention, which invite rereading.

The second volume, *The Family in a Democratic Society*, is divided into two major sections—"The Human Sciences and the Family" and "Health and the Family." The numerous articles in the latter section make patently clear both the essential relationships between the human being's physical and social welfare, between medical and social sciences. The section on the "Human Sciences and the Family," however, is disappointing. Among nine articles, imbalance is created by having three devoted to problems of adolescence. There is no article on old age, nor—and this is conspicuously missing from our literature—on early and middle adulthood. The nine contributors are social scientists and psychiatrists. Ought there not to be somewhere in a symposium on human science and the family some word from the discipline which applies those sciences and observes them in the living situation—some contribution from the practicing family case worker? But perhaps the ma-

for complaint with this volume is that its title *The Family in a Democratic Society* leads one to expect more than is to be found in it.

For all these criticisms there is within this second volume, too, much that may illuminate or broaden social work's horizons. Both books are recommended either for browsing or for concentrated absorption, when the social work practitioner, or educator, or administrator, or planner feels blunted and dulled by the grindstone and wants vision and stimulation again.

HELEN H. PERLMAN

University of Chicago

Social Work in a Revolutionary Age and Other Papers. By KENNETH L. M. PRAY. Published for the University of Pennsylvania School of Social Work by the University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1949. Pp. x+308. \$4.00.

This is a volume containing eighteen papers and addresses prepared by Mr. Pray and an introduction by his colleague Virginia P. Robinson. After Mr. Pray's death in 1948 the alumni of the Pennsylvania School of Social Work, of which he had been dean and director since 1942 and a lecturer and member of the faculty since 1919, together with members of the faculty and friends made possible the collection and publication of some of his papers in the present volume. Social workers throughout the country are indebted to these friends of Mr. Pray who have made available this material previously printed in widely scattered journals and reports.

The editors have divided the papers under four headings. Part One has to do with the early formulations of the philosophy underlying social work practice. Part Two deals with his papers on public welfare, and Part Three with those on penology. The fourth section is his final statement of the philosophy underlying social work practice. Dr. Robinson writes that Mr. Pray had planned on retiring to write a book tentatively called "Professional Social Work and Its World." While this plan could not be carried out, he has left a most valuable discussion of the fundamental concepts of the profession, and certainly all social workers should read at least the last five papers.

Perhaps his best-known address is the one presented to the National Conference of Social Work in April, 1947, in which he discusses the

differences in philosophy between the functional and the so-called "organismic" approach to social case work. While recognizing the substantial area of agreement which has developed, he emphasizes the differences in client-worker relation and in agency function.

As a philosophy he suggests that the profession "rests upon a profound faith in human beings, in their inherent and inviolable right to choose and to achieve their own destiny through social relations of their own making. . . . Always and everywhere social work is a helping, not a controlling, function."

In an interesting and provocative paper on community organization, he explores the problem as to whether community organization "is integrally related to the common content of problem, philosophy, knowledge, objective and method which characterizes social work as a whole." Unfortunately in this brief summary, the conditions under which he feels that community organization is social work practice cannot be restated but should be studied and well pondered by practitioners in this field.

WALTER W. PETTIT

Austin, Texas

The Dynamics of Supervision under Functional Controls. By VIRGINIA P. ROBINSON. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949. Pp. xiv+155. Bibliography included. \$2.25.

The vital contribution of Miss Robinson's first book, *Supervision in Social Case Work*, to social work education arouses interest in this second volume. The author states in the Preface that the concept of learning process developed in 1936 has not changed fundamentally. Twelve years' experience in its use has enabled her "to lift her description of the process of supervision out of its connection with its early biological and personal roots to a description of a process in itself with its own characteristic function and dynamics."

The author describes the process with her usual clarity. It is highly formalized for systematic and arbitrary use. One of the basic assumptions to which it is oriented is that professional education implies fundamental change in every student, that this process of change will be a painful one for the student and will entail also a frightening responsibility for the supervisor

who participates in effecting that change. Miss Robinson states: "Supervision from my point of view is the most original and characteristic process that the field of social case work has developed. Its use of relationship is rooted in the deepest human sources, its movement follows universal psychological laws. Its effectiveness in the production of personality change, essential for the achievement of skill in the helping process, is undeniable. With all this, perhaps precisely because of it, supervision is instinctively felt to be a dangerous tool, asking more, it may be, of a supervisor to use it responsibly than he is able or willing to take upon himself." Partly because of the danger involved in this helping process, student supervision must be structured rigidly and adhered to in accordance with a well-defined time pattern. The process has a beginning, a middle, and an end oriented to what universally is being demanded of the student at these periods and to what it is assumed students commonly are experiencing in the same sequence.

This lifting out of a process from the earlier biological and personal roots makes this book less useful to all supervisors than the author's earlier work. The aims of the functional social work educator do not differ from those of other social work educators. Their means differ decisively without differing completely. Educators agree that social work learning at its best is a basic growth experience which may cause pain, anxiety, and resistance. It is agreed that learning proceeds best in a positive but corrective relationship in which the student can trust himself; that trust implies freedom to express negative feelings and help in resolving the conflicts made active by the nature of the learning experience; that defenses against learning which are operating against rather than for integration must subside; that for integration and disciplined use learning must become a conscious process. These are a few of the common elements in the philosophy and practice of functional and nonfunctional supervision.

The decisive difference would seem to be that the nonfunctional supervisor operates on the assumption that there are wide variations in the degree and nature of change which social work education will imply for individual students; that there is diversity not only in the degree of suffering, anxiety, and resistance but also in their timing and in the individual's capacity for integration. Stresses which are traumatic and hence interrupt learning will vary from individ-

ual to individual. They will differ with the same person from time to time. They will fluctuate with the same person in different areas at different times, depending on such factors as fatigue and repetition elements. Furthermore there will be variation in the usefulness of certain defenses, for at times they facilitate learning through controlling its tempo in relation to the student's integrative capacity. Hence the non-functional supervisor must understand the student's learning response in the context of the immediate situation and work flexibly and differentially in the light of his knowledge and understanding of human behavior, of learning process, and of certain basic educational principles. He does not do certain things at certain times in anticipation of an expected need and response on the assumption that the movement of students is approximately uniform.

Miss Robinson emphasizes that functional supervision is student centered rather than curriculum centered. Certainly the author's primary concern with and sensitive feeling for the professional development of the student are manifest. That absorption in process in itself might create a "method-centered" educational experience seems possible. While this structured process might support the inexperienced supervisor in certain ways, one would fear its compulsive use at the stage when the beginner is striving not only for its mastery but is having to deal with his own fears and inadequacy. A safeguard against a process which would seem to lend itself to stereotyping is the schools' provision of experienced consultant help to the new supervisor, the importance of which the author emphasizes.

For comparison of educational philosophy and method this book will be of great interest to all case-work supervisors. Because of significant differences it will be useful primarily to those who can incorporate the functional process as a whole rather than in part.

CHARLOTTE TOWLE

University of Chicago

Community under Stress. By ELIZABETH HEAD VAUGHAN. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1949. Pp. xiv+160. \$2.50.

The author of this volume went in 1937 to teach in the University of the Philippines. There she married an American engineer and settled in the Visayan, or middle group of the Islands. At the outbreak of war, her husband

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enlisted in the United States Army, was subsequently captured, and died in the Cabanatuan Military Prison. After several months of hiding with the Negritos in the mountains of Negros Island, the author and her two children, then aged one and two years, surrendered to the Japanese in June, 1942. They were interned with 145 other enemy aliens in Bacolod Camp until March, 1943, and were then transferred to Santo Tomas Camp near Manila, where they remained until February, 1945.

Although the Bacolod experience was briefer than the one in Santo Tomas, the book deals primarily with the former—doubtless because the smaller size of the artificially created community at Bacolod lent itself more readily to analysis than the huge agglomeration of four thousand persons interned at Santo Tomas.

Certain factors in the experience could be objectively measured. During the three years of internment, for example, the aggregate loss of weight of the adult prisoners totalled 35 tons. The women prisoners adjusted to hardship more readily than the men. In a population 61 per cent male, almost 90 per cent of the deaths from disease (exclusive of torture or shelling) and all suicides were men. The author's explanation is that man's prestige as "protector of women and children" suffered by internment and that business and financial worries preyed heavily on the minds of the men. Conversely, the traditional self-sacrifice and resignation expected of women facilitated adjustment to the internee role.

Of special interest is the evidence indicating that the leadership which emerged spontaneously in the communal government in Bacolod Camp was interracial and cross-sectional. The attribute that evoked followers was not the background of previous experience; it was rather the willingness to serve the group without remuneration. Thus an executive of a large sugar concern, described as "inventive and constructive in business affairs, energetic and self-confident," proved during internment to be "morose, sullen, and uncooperative in the performance of his assigned tasks." On the other hand, the serene attitude of the missionaries and priests became a conspicuous source of strength to the entire group. One of these men, who insisted on an organized recreation program, is credited with having helped many of the internees to avoid mental breakdown.

The book as a whole is less impressive as a scientific analysis than as an intensely moving human document. The superabundance of quo-

tations from the writings of leading sociologists tends to obscure rather than to strengthen the original observations of the author and the conclusions she reached.

WAYNE McMILLEN

University of Chicago

City or Community. By ELIZABETH HANDASYDE.

Published by the National Council of Social Service, Inc., 32 Gordon Square, London, W.C. 1, England, 1949. Pp. 103. 5s.

The author of this provocative report is a British social worker who recently spent seven months in the United States studying various forms of community organization at the neighborhood level, with special emphasis on the social settlements. Her report contains a few amusing and, if we may be permitted to say so, typically British errors, such as the following: "But it must not be forgotten that enormous areas of the States are still rural and that many thousands of people live there under conditions of remoteness, solitude, and primitive simplicity which could only be paralleled in the islands of the Hebrides" (p. 71).

In spite of a few entertaining lapses of this type, the report contains a wealth of sound critical analysis that is completely forthright without being in any way offensive. Although many American social workers have been vaguely conscious of some of the weaknesses the author stresses, no one has succeeded equally well in disclosing their essential nature. She says, for example, of community chest campaigns: "Chest campaigns have become more and more elaborate in the effort to overcome this resistance or inertia, but it is very difficult to endow the best-organized abstraction with the appealing qualities of a concrete and visible piece of work" (p. 17). Or again, in speaking of the endless proliferation of programs that are designed to prevent juvenile delinquency, she says: "American adult society, including its social workers, seems to take the line that juvenile delinquency is an inevitable disease, a kind of social mumps, but that by offering enough inducements, by paying a Danegeld of clubs and entertainments, the young may be induced not to catch it" (p. 53). "The merits of juvenile delinquency as a motive force for community organization are, therefore, negative rather than positive. . . . It [this approach] also tends . . . to a concentration on inessentials; the provision of

recreation centers rather than better housing, a day-camp programme rather than better schools."

It is clear that the author, after examining neighborhood and area councils, co-ordinating councils, and other forms of group organization, ends by believing that the most promising medium of neighborhood organization is the social settlement. Perhaps she is right. Nevertheless, her assertion that "the object of the Settlement movement has always been to discover what demands the individual might reasonably make on his environment and to secure the adjustment of the environment to meet them" does not accurately describe the purposes which the governing boards of many of our settlements are pursuing today. Not all of them, by any means, measure up to Chicago Commons and Lea Taylor, whose vigorous action following the fire of October, 1947, in which a tenement housing three hundred Negroes burned with a loss of nine lives, is summarized in one of the two descriptions of concrete programs the author chose to incorporate in her report.

WAYNE McMILLEN

University of Chicago

The American Social Security System. By EVELINE M. BURNS. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1949. Pp. xviii+460. \$4.50.

American Social Insurance. By DOMENICO GAGLIARDO. New York: Harper & Bros., 1949. Pp. xxiii+671. \$5.00.

The urgent need for an up-to-date textbook on social security was removed by the publication of these two first-rate books. Although there is now a rich body of literature relating to social security in this country, it is largely in the form of articles and specialized studies, many of which are out of print or otherwise difficult of access. Both these books help to fill an important need by digesting and integrating this great mass of materials into single treatment of the whole subject. Dr. Burns, of the faculty of the New York School of Social Work, writes out of a rich experience of research in social security with the National Resources Planning Board (*Security, Work, and Relief Policies*, 1942), the National Planning Association, and the Social Science Research Council. Gagliardo, professor of economics at the University of Kansas, is less well known in this field, and he has a less inti-

mate association with social security; but he has, nevertheless, produced a competent book on the subject. Both books give evidence of their authorship by experienced teachers because they are especially suited for classroom use, and no teacher of social security can afford to be without them.

Although they deal with the same general subject, these two texts by no means duplicate one another; they differ materially in their organization, style, focus, and even the programs analyzed. Burns, being concerned with the broad subject of social security, includes in her study all four of the primary methods by which the United States endeavors to provide a measure of security: social insurance, public assistance, flat-grant pensions (pensions to veterans), and provision of work (the latter very briefly). Gagliardo, on the other hand, writes only of social insurance, although, curiously, he includes a chapter on old age assistance. Gagliardo devotes almost two hundred pages to a useful discussion of sickness and disability insurance, a subject which Burns touches very lightly.

Basically Gagliardo's book is organized into six parts, four of which are the major hazards of old age, unemployment, occupational injuries, and illness and disability, together with an introduction and conclusions. He writes separate chapters on each social insurance program but groups these chapters under the hazards to which they relate. He also has chapters in each part which set forth the nature and extent of the hazard and the development of security measures to meet it. For example under "Old Age" one finds chapters on (1) "The Problem of Old Age," (2) "Old-Age Assistance," (3) "The Federal Old Age and Survivors Insurance System," (4) "The Railroad Retirement System," and (5) "Federal Civil Service Retirement Systems." Since the book is organized into sections, each devoted to a hazard, it is interesting that there is none relating to the hazard of death of the wage-earner. Benefits for survivors are discussed in chapters on OASI, "Railroad Retirement," and "Workmen's Compensation."

The organization of the Burns book is by the method of security provision: "The Social Insurances," "Income Security for Veterans" (flat-grant pensions), and "The Public Assistances," with an opening section on "Social Security: The Need and the Response," and a concluding one on the "Decisions that Lie Ahead." Within these major sections on social security methods, Burns has chapters or parts of chapters devoted

to the appropriate programs. Thus in the section on "Social Insurance" there are two chapters each on OASI and on unemployment compensation, and one each on "Sickness and Disability Insurance" (which is almost entirely workmen's compensation) and "Insurance Programs for Railroad Workers."

Teachers of social security courses will recognize the advantages and difficulties of each of these methods of treatment, and will be grateful that the authors each chose a different approach to his subject.

These texts differ in three other important particulars: (1) the author's interpretation and evaluation, (2) the scope and depth of the analysis, and (3) the extent to which the several parts are integrated into a unified whole. Gagliardo contents himself with factual presentation with a minimum of his own interpretation and evaluation. When dealing with controversial matters, he summarizes the several opposing views (often supported by liberal quotations) but leaves the reader to draw his own conclusions. Social workers who know Dr. Burns will not be surprised to find that, while her book is packed with the important and relevant facts, she has incorporated with them her own trenchant analysis and interpretation. She states as her basic assumption that the primary purpose of the social security program is "to assure a minimum of security to all Americans," and she examines existing programs in the light of this criterion. While her treatment is not dogmatic by any means, she is clear and forthright in her criticisms of the several programs, and she is equally clear and forthright in stating what she thinks should be done about them. This is not to say that she fails to take account of other views about controversial points. After doing so, however, she expresses her own opinion and proceeds to support it with vigor and clarity.

In his analysis of the several programs, Gagliardo was not concerned "with the multitude of operating problems encountered, partly because they are relatively unimportant to students and partly, because as an 'outsider' looking in" he had "little knowledge of them." Regardless of whether one agrees that "operating problems" in social security programs are "unimportant to students," it is clear that by assuming this view, the author was able to spare himself the trouble of analyzing some of the most intricate and complex problems offered by social security. Perhaps this explains why Gagliardo either slides over or ignores such problems as the "reserve"

and its investment in OASI and the matter of interpreting such phrases as "good cause," "voluntary quit," and "suitable work" in unemployment compensation. At all events, Dr. Burns, whose association with the social security program has been so close that she could hardly be characterized as an "outsider," has tackled "operational problems" and others with her usual trenchant and lucid analysis.

Social security in the United States presents a highly diverse and complex pattern, and the task of obtaining a synthesis in its treatment is by no means an easy one. Few authors have tried. Gagliardo makes little attempt to do it; his book then is on the order of a compendium with chapters devoted to specific programs, but with a minimum of cross-references and drawing together. Burns, on the other hand, attempts the synthesis especially in the opening and closing sections and succeeds in a measure in presenting the several and diverse programs as a "system." In comparison Gagliardo's attempts at integration are superficial.

Both books are veritable "storehouses" of reliable factual material about social security, and both are richly documented with footnotes through which students may be directed to the important sources. Both books are well indexed, and Gagliardo includes a useful list of references. Students and teachers of social security will be grateful to these authors for their patient and careful work.

ALTON A. LINFORD

University of Chicago

The Proceedings of the International Congress on Mental Health. London: H. K. Lewis & Co., Ltd.; New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. Vol. I, pp. 154; Vol. II, pp. xiii+142; Vol. III, pp. x+129; Vol. IV, pp. ix+330. Vols. I-III, each 10s. or \$2.50; Vol. IV, 20s. or \$5.50.

Social workers in the United States, long mental health conscious and long actively identified with mental health work through participation in health and welfare programs of preventative and remedial import, have awaited with interest reports of the International Conference on Mental Health held in London in 1948. The proceedings now are published in four separate volumes as follows:

Volume I, *History, Development and Organization of the Congress*, including names of the

officers of the Congress and lists of members.

This volume will be of interest to social workers responsible for the organization and administration of conferences in that it recounts not merely the Origins and Aims of a great international congress but depicts, step by step, the development of the program and the group work before and during the Congress. A chapter by Nina Ridenour, Ph.D., Executive Officer, International Committee for Mental Hygiene, is noteworthy in that it records special problems, difficulties of transnational planning, and errors to serve as points to remember. As we look wishfully to a "One World" future in which congresses may occur in many fields of endeavor, such records of each pioneer venture are important.

Volume II, *Proceedings of the International Conference on Child Psychiatry.*

This presents many brief but comprehensive papers by noted psychiatrists, psychologists, educators, and social scientists. These papers are grouped in the following theme programs: "Aggression in Relation to Emotional Development, Normal and Pathological"; "Aggression in Relation to Family Life"; "Psychiatric Problems in the Educational Sphere"; "The Community and the Aggressive Child." In the United States, where social workers and social work resources and programs have been vitally and intimately connected with the practice of child psychiatry, the social work reader will note the glaring omission of a single participant from his profession. He will peruse these papers for their valuable content as he continues to learn from and to contribute to this important related field of practice.

Volume III, *Proceedings of the International Conference on Medical Psychotherapy.*

These technical papers by eminent physicians, psychiatrists, and social anthropologists are grouped as follows: "The Genesis of Guilt"; "Guilt and the Dynamics of Psychological Disorders in the Individual"; "Collective Guilt"; "Advances in Group and Individual Therapy." Social case workers who seek solid grounding in psychopathology as well as basic understanding of normal behavior, individual and group, will find these papers worth careful study. Of particular interest will be the universality of problems in human behavior and the common language spoken by the students thereof.

Volume IV, *Proceedings of the International Conference on Mental Hygiene.*

The preface states: "This volume contains

the record of the preparatory work for, and the proceedings of, the International Conference of Mental Hygiene, which was by far the largest and most important of the three conferences comprising the Conference." The sessions of this Conference were designated as follows: "Problems of World Citizenship and Good Group Relations"; "The Individual and Society"; "Family Problems and Psychological Disturbance"; "Mental Health in Industry and Industrial Relations"; "Planning for Mental Health, Organization, Training, Propaganda, Conclusions and Recommendations." Of interest to social workers and particularly to social work educators in social welfare administration and community organization is the comprehensive statement of recommendations which presents certain principles which "can usefully guide all countries in their efforts toward improving mental health." Since this volume sets forth the deliberations of a conference concerned with the relationship of the social order and its institutions to mental health, the reviewer looks for the place given to her profession, social work, which is concerned with the reshaping of social and economic institutions that are failing to fulfil their functions and with the creating of special services for groups of individuals whose needs are not being met. She is impressed with the fact that while social work is mentioned here and there briefly in passing, it has not been recognized as an important instrument of the community for the safeguarding of mental health. In the Appendix of Volume IV in an enumeration of "Specialist Meetings and Visits held in connection with the International Conference on Mental Hygiene," there is listed one program sponsored by the Association of Psychiatric Social Workers on "The Meaning of the Word 'Social' in Psychiatric Social Work." The chairman, an eminent social worker, was Mildred Scoville, executive associate, Commonwealth Fund of America, while the speakers were psychiatric social workers from Sweden, the United States, Holland, and Scotland. To the disappointment of the social work reader the papers of this adjunctive conference are not included in the proceedings. The place given to social work in the conference suggests that in the world scene this profession is not regarded as having a body of knowledge and skill to contribute to thinking and planning on mental health in collaboration with physicians, psychiatrists, psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, and educators. In light of the fact that broad social welfare measures, social

research, sound social welfare administration, and many social services would be required in any community for the enactment of the official recommendations of this Congress, it would seem that social work might have had a less incidental place, notably in the mental hygiene conference program.

Many of the papers in these volumes are of high caliber. As might be expected, the writers when invited to speak to the world have spoken at their brilliant best and have risen to the important occasion. The result is a contribution to the understanding of mankind.

CHARLOTTE TOWLE

University of Chicago

Male and Female: A Study of the Sexes in a Changing World. By MARGARET MEAD. New York: William Morrow & Co., 1949. Pp. xii+477. \$5.00.

This book begins with a discussion of certain questions about the roles of man and woman in contemporary society. These questions, as we all know, are being asked in the press, on the radio, in popular magazines and scholarly journals. Perhaps the very fact that they are asked with such shrill insistence suggests that our society cannot provide security to the individual and that this general insecurity manifests itself in relation to his part as a member of a sex to which, in a different culture, a certain role would be assigned by age-old tradition.

This first question, with which much of Dr. Mead's stimulating and provocative book deals, reflects many of the assumptions which have been stated implicitly or explicitly in recent sociological and popular literature. The author does not at any point fall into the glib oversimplifications which so vex social workers. She attempts to describe, and if her vivid and telling descriptive phrases fail to depict a coherent culture, this must be attributed to the culture, not to the writer. It is the lack of cultural coherence which leads her to ask how men and women are to think about their maleness and femaleness in this twentieth century, in which so many of our old ideas must be made new. Other questions as to whether our society has overdomesticated men, or cut women off from biological and emotional fulfillment by our emphasis on economic independence, or whether we have injured men and women alike by subjecting them to identical education, are evoked by the first question.

Dr. Mead states three things she has attempted to do in this book. In the section called "The Ways of the Body" she tries to bring a greater awareness of the way in which the differences and the similarities in the bodies of human beings form the basis on which all our learnings about our sex and our relationship to the other sex are built. In the next section, "The Problems of Society," she describes vividly the structure of seven South Sea cultures, with the intent of giving the reader a picture of the ways, different from our own, by which societies "have attempted to develop a myth of work to bind men to women and children, to get the children fed and reared and to settle the problems that arise whenever individual sex impulses must be disciplined into social forms." We are reminded that every human society has had to deal with the problems of the family and has, through long periods of time, sought to solve them through its cultural patterns.

In the section, "The Two Sexes in Contemporary America," Dr. Mead describes the relationship between the sexes in America today, childhood, courtship, and marriage as they appear to the presumably more objective eyes of the anthropologist and to suggest ways in which our civilization may make as full use of the special gifts of women as of men, so that an evolving society may make fuller use of all human gifts.

The author points out that each of the three main parts of her book may be read as a book in itself. This is quite true, and the resultant lack of unity is apparent. Unity exists only through the author's highly individualized style and through her consistent attempt to view the American culture with the same objectivity which she brought to bear in her anthropological studies in Samoa and New Guinea.

The social worker, reading Dr. Mead's vivid and convincing descriptions of the Samoans, the Manus of the Admiralty Islands, the Mount Arapesh of New Guinea, the Cannibal Munduguman, the Lake Dwelling Tehambuli, the Iatmul Head Hunters, and the Balinese, has the rare experience of thinking about human relationships in the terms of a different discipline, which she makes vicariously accessible to us. Her contribution is defined as follows:

Out of the differences, the contrasts, the strange and unexpected ways in which these seven peoples have ordered their lives, patterned the relationship between the sexes, between parents and children, between men and women and their own creative skills

should come some greater appreciation of the values for human civilization of the presence of two sexes, of the importance of this counterpoint that we sometimes ignore grievously, often distort and have never used to the full.

Each of the seven peoples that come alive in the pages of Dr. Mead's book shape men and women in very different ways. The treatment of the infant in these different societies is described in detail, and we learn the varying significance given to the roles of men and women, to nursing, feeding, hunting, marriage, and religious rites. Family structure is seen as culturally determined, so that the solution of the oedipal conflict differs considerably from the familiar emotional patterns of Western European culture. Of the relative serenity which characterizes the large stable families of Samoa, the author writes: "Perhaps more sharply than in any known society, Samoan culture demonstrates how much the tragic or the easy solution of the oedipus situation depends upon the interrelationship between parents and children and is not created out of whole cloth by the young child's biological impulses."

Perhaps the most important value of this book to the social worker is that the author's descriptions of primitive cultures make us realize that cultural patterns are more profound determinants of personality than we are likely to realize. The research of psychoanalysis which has so much influenced our understanding of personality development and of behavior is, after all, a product of Western European culture.

When she turns to a consideration of the American scene, Dr. Mead says many things that all of us will recognize as significant and true. She is more convincing when she describes, with wit and penetration, the formless and fluid quality of our culture than when she attempts to characterize it convincingly. She says, at the beginning, that it would seem almost impossible to write about the American people as a whole, but later she adds that "Subtly, insistently, continuously, the standard American culture is presented to rich and to poor, to newcomer and even to aborigines whose ancestors swarmed the Plains before the Spaniard brought the horse to the New World."

The image of the standard American ways is said to be transmitted by mail-order catalogues, over the radio, in moving pictures—an image of material perfection of which all members of our society may dream and which most will try to

make reality. Unprecedented mobility, repeated waves of immigration, vast resources and technological achievements undreamed of before this century have created kinds of insecurity unknown in primitive cultures. Dr. Mead's vivid, though fragmentary, vignettes of American cultural phenomena remind the social worker that we are working within a shifting social framework and that both emotional and economic deprivations are complicated by the fact that they occur within a social structure which in itself provides little support for the individual. The author attempts to show some of these ways in which the development of human beings as men and women, husbands and wives, fathers and mothers, is affected by our culture. Perhaps this is an impossible task. One can only say that her conclusions seem as transitory as the shifting values she has described with so much insight. Yet any social worker should be grateful to her for reminding us that many of the criteria of normality by which we evaluate personality, and particularly the roles of male and female, are themselves based on confused projections.

Dr. Mead's attempt to integrate a rather elaborate analysis of the current roles of male and female in our society with suggestions for building a world in which both sexes, and society itself, benefit is not entirely successful. It is her conviction that we have suffered because we have built a world in which the different gifts of each sex are not used to full advantage. Certainly it is true, as she says, that "we can build a whole society only by using both the gifts special to each sex and those shared by both sexes—by using the gifts of the whole of humanity." Reaching the end of her book, the reader thinks that if, by miracle or design, every human being were committed to building a society in which the gifts of the whole of humanity were used, we should not need to be concerned with the roles of men and women or the struggle between the sexes.

BARBARA BRANDON

University of Chicago

World in Transition: A Guide to the Shifting Political and Economic Forces of Our Time. By G. D. H. COLE. New York: Oxford University Press, 1949. Pp. xix+646. \$6.00.

The indefatigable Mr. Cole, Fabian socialist, professor, and writer of ingenious detective stories, has written another truly cyclopedic

volume on the world situation and the conflicts, international and intranational, which bar the way to the peace so urgently needed and to the economic recovery which is the foundation of a lasting and genuine peace.

It would be difficult to name an issue, major or minor, theoretical or practical, which Mr. Cole overlooks or dismisses without illumination. Is Russia really totalitarian? Is the co-existence of so-called "communism," meaning socialism, and modified capitalism, or Free Enterprise, possible? Is there an alternative to the kind of socialism being gradually established in Britain? What about colonialism and the backward countries? Can they be industrialized without exploitation by alien capitalists? Can the standard of living be raised and kept fairly high in the Far East, the Middle East, and all of Latin America? What is the sane and just solution of the German problem and the Japanese problem? What is America's role in the world today? Is she likely to play it effectively?

These and a hundred other interrelated questions are ably and lucidly treated in the comprehensive work under notice. And they are frankly treated from the nonrevolutionary socialist viewpoint. Mr. Cole is not ethically or politically neutral. He is always scrupulously fair to opponents. He formulates his own basic beliefs at the start and wastes no space on those he considers mad, wicked, or dumb and ignorant. He believes in man and in the brotherhood of man. He believes that science and technology would enable us to abolish poverty, to reorganize society with a view to that perfectly feasible consummation, and thus to do away with the present grave maladjustments and threats of catastrophe and all-but-universal ruin.

Mr. Cole is neither pedantic nor fanatical. He is a scholar and a logical thinker. He is a master of the social sciences and of the English language. He writes for the general lay reader and is never obscure or ambiguous. He redeems the promise of his philosophical introduction and provides a dependable guide to the bewildering and, to many, disheartening discords and tensions of our era.

VICTOR S. YARROS

La Jolla
California

Partners in Production: A Basis for Labor-Management Understanding. A Report by the LABOR COMMITTEE OF THE TWENTIETH CEN-

TURY FUND, assisted by OSGOOD NICHOLS. New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1949. Pp. ix+149. \$1.50.

To anyone attempting to discuss realistically what is happening on the labor-management front in our economy, this small book comes as a distinct help. Soundly written, logically put together, and clearly understandable, it is not only a readable but a very teachable text. To the educator who brings into class fleeting examples of good labor relations, illustrations of changes that are taking place, tendencies which seem more permanent, this book brings these together, amplifies them, and helps to clarify the issues.

After a general introduction the authors, William Davis of the Office of Economic Stabilization; James Brownlow of the AF of L; William Chenery, former publisher of *Collier's Weekly*; Howard Coonley of the American Standards Company; Herbert Payne of the Textile Workers Union; Sumner Slichter of Harvard University; Herman Steinkraus of the Bridgeport Brass Company; and Edwin Witte of the University of Wisconsin ask, first, what are the aims of labor and, then, what are the aims of management. This impartial committee lists the four goals of labor, which they think can be generally accepted. They are: (1) a sense of security, both on the job and in the community; (2) an opportunity to advance; a fair chance for promotion and general betterment; (3) more human treatment including being consulted about things that affect labor's welfare; (4) a sense of dignity on the job; a feeling of doing constructive, useful work.

Turning from the goals of labor, the second question is what are management's goals. These aims of management are much harder to define and have not often been put into words, but using in the main material from the Yale Management Center they can be summarized as: (1) good business for the company and its general health; (2) good relations with its employees to gain their loyalty and keep them satisfied with working conditions; (3) freedom to manage, without interference from unions or employees; (4) businesslike relationships and more responsibility on the part of employees and unions, so that the company will have assurance that contracts and agreements will be carried out.

Here then are the goals, the ambitions, the desires of the two parties. Are these goals com-

pletely antagonistic or can they be brought into some kind of alignment? There are two aims that seem mutually acceptable; first, *the chance to advance*, and whereas this is a goal of labor, it is also a goal of modern management. The union feels that advancement should be based on seniority; management does not. Therein lies the conflict but it is being worked out satisfactorily in many firms because both management and labor are modifying their demands.

The second mutual aim, *businesslike and responsible relations*, is really an aim of labor as well as a goal of management. Whereas it may not always seem so to management or to the public, the authors feel that the true labor facts disclose a growing trend in this direction on the part of the union.

In the second category—seeming conflict but potential co-operation—the goal demanded by labor is *human treatment*. Management has centered its thinking on the machine but is gradually coming to the conclusion that the human factor is the more important. In order to solve this problem there must be a reorientation of thinking. For example, industrial policies can be so arranged that if men are to be displaced by machines the displacement comes gradually, the workers are given adequate notice of displacement and if possible are transferred to other jobs in the factory as they open up. This modern approach to the goal of human treatment is still good management while solving the problem of treatment. The *freedom to manage* is an aim of management. The modern trend in labor relations is to give the workers as much authority as is justified and warranted. For example, inspection or discipline, where men have had it as their own responsibility, has often been performed more successfully than when it was only management's task.

Another area of conflict is in labor's demand for *dignity on the job*. Both sides desire it but have different definitions of this aim. The authors feel that careful orientation of the thinking of both sides and a possible compromise might solve this problem. Here then are areas of seeming conflict but quite probable co-operation.

In the area of real conflict, labor demands security and management expects an efficient and profitable enterprise. This seems irreconcilable. The authors here feel that a compromise can be effected that will allow each to pursue its own objectives without constant opposition from the other.

Labor relations, reduced to their elements, depend on the honesty and integrity of the parties concerned as to their intentions and acts. When these have proved sound, all problems are possible of solution.

The importance of this small volume is first its lucid analysis of the conflicts between management and labor, the grasp the authors have of modern labor relations in their discussion, and the fundamental common sense they show in their conclusions. This book states the problem and the practical approach to settlements which are proving sound in many of our industries.

LESLIE PALMER BEEBE

Department of Economics
Connecticut College

Standards and Labels for Consumers' Goods. By JESSIE V. COLES. New York: Ronald Press, 1949. Pp. viii + 543. \$5.00.

Dr. Coles, an authority in the field of consumer economics, has discussed the role of the consumer in our economy. In the approach to the marketing problem, she clearly depicted the plight of the consumer in his attempt to secure the most desirable goods for the smallest expenditure of his money, time, and energy.

In Part I the author has clearly presented the "position of consumers as buyers, and the gradual development of consumer interest in their problems." The weaknesses of the consumer as a chooser of goods and the reasons for inefficient buying are discussed; and the conclusion is reached that, by proper standards and labels of consumers' goods, consumers may "maintain their sovereignty in the economic organization of the free enterprise system."

"Labels as they exist today" and criteria for good labels are dealt with in Part II. Since buyers have less and less opportunity to inspect goods because of the use of packaged goods, it is increasingly necessary for the buyers to depend upon salespeople for information and upon what they read upon labels and in advertising. It is, therefore, necessary that accurate descriptions should be provided to give the necessary kinds and quantities of information in a manner which makes it easy to select goods. However, Dr. Coles points out that, while there has been an improvement in labels over the past half-century, nevertheless there are serious criticisms to be made of those used today.

"Some basic concepts of standards" are considered later; and after an exposition of how we arrive at standards and standardization, Miss Coles shows "how standards are used by producers in making, distributing, and describing consumers' goods." The scope of industrial standardization is discussed for the four levels: in individual companies, in trade associations or technical societies, on a national scale, and on an international scale. It is clear from the presentation that standardization benefits the maker of goods. Standards play an extremely important role in large-scale buying and selling by growers, manufacturers, and the government. Miss Coles raises such questions as "If the use of standards is so valuable to producers in their purchasing . . . why should they not be carried to the end and purpose of all production—the consumer?" Only a few standards have been developed specifically to describe consumers' goods, although there are standards in existence which could be, but are not, used at present. Obstacles arise "in part from consumers and the characteristics of consumers' goods, and in part from the resistance of producers to the program." The author also deals "with the manifold problems of getting standards, the grade labeling of consumer goods in the United States and Canada, and the present status of standards and labels for consumers' goods."

Since it is clear that there is an urgent need for the establishment of adequate standards and informative labels, there must be a co-ordinated, co-operative program not only for the developing and establishing of procedures but also for the putting them into effect. Growers, manufacturers, distributors, consumers, and governmental agencies must all contribute to the program. The author raises the question as to the desirability of a central agency to assume leadership. There are many arguments which can be advanced for a federal department of the Consumer which would not only have the responsibility for seeing that proper standards and labels are provided but also that the consumers are educated to use them properly.

The book is for all who "are concerned with the better marketing of better consumers' goods, to consumers as individuals and to consumer organizations, to foresighted producers and retailers, to teachers of marketing and home economics, and to advertisers and their agents." Miss Coles should be commended for a scholarly presentation of a difficult problem. This book is a valuable reference for students of consumer

economics—not a textbook, it will nevertheless be found of great value to students who need "both a detailed examination of the present-day status and a history of the development of this phase of the marketing phenomena." However, the general consumer probably needs a book written in a more popular vein to stimulate him to demand his rights in the marketing of consumer goods.

FLORENCE M. WARNER

Department of Economics
Connecticut College

Killers of the Dream. By LILLIAN SMITH. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1949. Pp. 256. \$3.00.

Miss Smith looks at the white man from many angles in an attempt to understand him and his behavior. When she tells us what she sees and what she believes, her message is clear and unerring. When she tries to explain the method of her study and the many approaches that she has harmonized one into another, she is confusing.

Why has the white man dreamed a dream of freedom and human dignity and again and again tried to kill his own dream? A child knows no prejudice until it has been taught to him and he has been made to believe this. Once he accepts prejudices, he must continually justify them or give them up and they are not easily relinquished. Tradition, custom, religion—the deeply rooted forces that protect a culture and a way of life—are not easily overthrown. The habits of a lifetime seal the mind and the emotions against change in the little world wherein each man lives and looks for personal happiness and security. Still, because he is human, man dreams of freedom and free men. And slowly the dream brings about change in the minds of men, where all change must begin. That was happening in the South. Men of good will were increasing, new knowledge of men and society was directed against the doctrine of racial superiority and white supremacy. The conscience of the South began to stir.

On August 6, 1945, a bomb was dropped, the most devastating of its kind yet known. People in a panic began to gravitate toward their own kind, following patterns set down in childhood. War between nations had ended; war with ourselves had begun. Men drove each other to take loyalty oaths, to try each other's beliefs, to find

everyone guilty of what they themselves had done. Fear, once again, begot intolerance, denied individual dignity, mocked men and faith. Men no longer know in what to believe, and liberal fights liberal as dreams die. Now old intolerances are alive. Nations fear nations, and the minds of men are embittered by misunderstanding and inflamed by anxieties.

We have forgotten our dream of free men. We have forgotten democracy as the only way of life that protects freedom. We have forgotten that the future belongs to man and that the future must stand for freedom, human dignity, individual rights. As the South failed in the past, so is the nation failing today. If the South is to progress, so must the nation. The colored people of the world are watching the struggle between tolerance and intolerance; freedom and oppression. The dream must live again as the heart of a new morality and a new culture.

Anyone reading this book carefully will realize that it does not answer the many questions it raises. And at the end, the discussion of political ideologies and forces of government in relation to freedom and human rights is certainly not so well presented as those sections of the book dealing largely with the South and its problems.

It is a privilege, in a sense, to read a book into which an author has put so much power and prayer. It is the statement of a private citizen who has assumed his share of responsibility for the world's turmoil and who is offering to others what he has come to believe. It criticizes what it cannot accept yet it is free from contention. A country that still believes in individual opinion is justified of its faith in this honest and compelling book.

CAROL K. GOLDSTEIN

Illinois Public Aid Commission
Chicago, Illinois

Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825-1863.

By ROBERT ERNST. New York: King's Crown Press, Columbia University, 1949. Pp. xvii+331. \$4.50.

Immigrants from Italy, Poland, and Russia predominate in New York's foreign-born population today, but such was not the case during the period covered by this book, 1825-1863. According to the census of 1860, 200,000 of that city's 384,000 foreign-born were natives of Ireland and 120,000 came from Germany; the re-

maining 64,000 came chiefly from England, Scotland, and France.

This book deals almost wholly with the German and Irish immigrant groups, furnishing a mass of information about them, much of which is derived from sources not readily available—from, for example, the manuscript schedules of the 1855 New York State Census and similar schedules from the United States Census of 1850. Five chapters which discuss the occupational distribution of New York immigrants, their employment difficulties, and the part they played in the labor-union movement are perhaps especially noteworthy. Incidentally, a table (No. 31) pertaining to these chapters, offers evidence of what is often claimed, namely, that, while life in these United States is heart-breaking tough on many of the immigrants, their offspring almost always reap the benefits of the migration. This table, based on the New York schedules referred to above, classifies as to occupation the foreign-born in New York City's Sixth Ward and their employed offspring. In twelve Irish families the "head" is listed as laborer, but, of the nineteen second-generation workers in those families, only one is listed as laborer; all the others are in skilled occupations.

The book describes the wretched housing and sanitation conditions which New York, during most of this period, offered newcomers; the various steps taken by the authorities to improve their lot, and the immigrant aid societies which were established for the same purpose. Several chapters discuss the recreational and intellectual activities of the different groups and their attempts to preserve their cultural heritage on American soil. There is an interesting and detailed account of the foreign-language newspapers which flourished during this period and of their importance in immigrant adjustment. The contrast between the two chief nationality groups is sharply drawn. German immigrants, most of them physically vigorous and equal, if not superior, to the native-born in skills and training, soon won economic security and general acceptance. The Irish, on the other hand, being largely inexperienced and unskilled, had to accept the hardest and poorest paid jobs; and, when their health, undermined by years of undernourishment in their native country, broke under such labor, they became a burden on the community. Because of this and also because of their religion, which antagonized Protestant America, there was strong prejudice against them, and their life in New York during this period was pretty dismal.

The notes which accompany the different chapters of this book and the extensive bibliographies show that much research went into its making. The carefully prepared bibliographies, listing the source material consulted—census returns, public documents (city, state, and national), reports of private organizations, newspapers, directories, guidebooks, etc.—should prove very helpful to other scholars.

MARIAN SCHIBSBY

Fillmore, California

The Pre-Election Polls of 1948: Report to the Committee on Analysis of Pre-Election Polls and Forecasts. By FREDERICK MOSTELLER and OTHERS. (Bulletin 60, 1949.) New York: Social Science Research Council, 1949. Pp. xx+396. \$2.50; cloth, \$3.00.

The human reaction to political situations still is not subject to any well-defined, established pattern. This seems to be the "startling" conclusion to be drawn from the lengthy and complete analysis of modern-day polling techniques ordered by the Social Science Research Council within a week after the pollsters' debacle of November 2, 1948.

To the student of social and political science perhaps the truly startling fact should be that the pollsters particularly, and the public in general, allowed themselves to think that in dealing in the highly unplotted seas of public opinion they possibly could have developed the scientific techniques which could have allowed them the claim of accuracy to which they previously had clung. As the report indicates, the pollsters, by their own admission, were subject to an average four per cent error. Naturally to secure an average of this magnitude means individual variations of an even higher degree. And yet one pollster announced some time before the election that he was not even going to bother taking further samples of the voters.

Many interesting facts and figures with reference to the 1948 election, the polls, and voting habits are portrayed in this volume. For example, the study indicates that a considerable body of voters did not make up their minds until the last several weeks of the campaign. Something like one in seven voters decided their choice in the last two weeks, and three-fourths of these preferred Truman. One more generally accepted campaign maxim thus gently soars out the window with those statistics.

But when everything is boiled down to basic

findings we discover that once more we have attempted to overwork our slim knowledge of political behavior patterns. As the report stated (p. 14) "it is obvious that polling organizations have not drawn adequately on available scientific knowledge in psychology, sociology, political science, and related fields. It must also be observed that the study of political behavior has been relatively neglected by psychologists, political scientists, and other social scientists, and that the contributions that can now be made by social science are greatly limited as a consequence."

Certainly the polling technique is not, and should not be, a substitute for elections or for legislative procedures. That the poll has a limited usefulness in giving trends in political campaigns should go without saying. It is equally apparent that the polls as sampling devices have other very important uses. As we come to know more and more about voting habits, sampling techniques, and the analysis of samples for forecasting purposes, public opinion polls will become more accurate. To the student of the social sciences this study and these conclusions are only another confirmation of our meager knowledge of ourselves as political beings.

ROBERT E. MERRIAM

Chicago City Council

Spokesmen for God: The Great Teachers of the Old Testament. By EDITH HAMILTON. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1949. Pp. 259. \$3.00.

Basing her interpretation on the salient literary classics of each culture, Miss Hamilton has hitherto opened to us not only *The Greek Way* and *The Roman Way* but the *Way of Israel* as well, although the latter was entitled *The Prophets of Israel* when first published in 1936. Of this highly praised work *Spokesmen for God* is both a revision and an enlargement, particularly its final chapter, "The Sunlit Heights." Scrupulous scholarship, deft literary skill, rich yet unobtrusive erudition in the vestiges of ancient civilizations, intuitive yet judicious sympathy with the vagaries, and the victories also, of the human spirit, give this book, like everything else Miss Hamilton has written, dignity and lucidity.

Because the "highest elevation in the thought of the Old Testament is reached in the Prophets and the Psalms" (p. 28), Amos, Hosea, Micah, First Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Second Isaiah, are accorded major attention, which

amounts, of course, to percipient and comprehensive analysis and relation of each prophet to his times and its problems, especially the condition of the underprivileged. Especially competent is her explanation of the part of these prophets in the evolution of the conception of Jahweh as a kind of "Sultan of Sinai"—a god of power, anger, jealousy, terror, war—into a compassionate Shepherd or Father of Israel (and of all humanity) to whom the exploitation of the innocent poor was more of an affront than the neglect of temple worship. *En passant*, one of Miss Hamilton's ablest passages contrasting the prophets' confrontation of "ritual with righteousness" ends with the crisp summary that, for the priests, "the chief end of man was to glorify God—in a temple." But neither ritual punctiliousness nor orthodoxy of belief concerned the great prophets in comparison with personal righteousness, expressed in acts, not merely words, of truth, justice and mercy. The continuity of such revelation/conviction from Amos to Jesus is clearly and cogently traced, as is likewise the colligation of Jeremiah's pacifism (chap. viii) with his disciple Ezekiel's counsel of passive submission in Babylon; with the conception of Israel's exemplary role as God's "Suffering Servant"; following on to Jesus' conviction of his Messianic vocation and function as healer and champion of the poor and needy.

Partly to afford the reader a general survey and background of the whole literary mélange of the Old Testament (though, curiously, the Psalms are only casually treated) but chiefly to illustrate the amazing singularity and, from a modern viewpoint, superiority of the great ethical Prophets, Miss Hamilton sketches her reasons for *not* regarding a good many other writers of the Old Testament, in whole or in part, as "spokesmen for God," i.e., the compassionate, universal Father of the Prophets, as of the Gospel. The low moral tone of the Pentateuch (except for Moses), culminating in the priestly authoritarianism and cruel bigotry of Deuteronomy, as well as the ritual and racial exclusiveness of Ezekiel, together with the ethically deplorable (though ecclesiastically useful) later effects of these last two books, are candidly stated, not as a challenge to Biblical infallibility, for Miss Hamilton is unfailingly irenic and respectful, but as a means of contrasting the high spiritual and ethical inspiration of the great Prophets with what both preceded and surrounded them. Herein her theological competence is as notable as her literary skill, so that she is able to make her frankest comments reasonable and even reverent. The latter quality

proceeds not only from her consistent use of the evolutionist theory of religious development, but by her appreciation of a more modern and, to some, more plausible hypothesis of spiritual psychodynamics, of which her chapter iii gives a brilliant exposition.

CHARLES H. LYTLE

Meadville Theological School

Yes and Albert Thomas. By E. J. PHELAN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. Pp. xvi + 271. \$3.50.

Originally published at London in 1936, this book is now printed and published in the United States for the first time. It is the work of a high international civil servant, written while he was still in the service of the International Labor Organization and published with the approval of that Organization's second director.

Most of the book reads like a recast of a well-written diary. It is interesting in itself, and contributes important details to the early history of what is now one of the oldest international agencies in the social field. There are, however, several matters of abiding importance on which Phelan attempts to define the thought and purpose of Albert Thomas as they were expressed in the early development of the ILO.

Thomas' view of the nature and function of the International Labor Organization are particularly discussed in the closing chapter, in which we are told the following:

He rejected the theory that it existed mainly to secure equitable conditions of commercial competition, and he laid the main emphasis on the idea of the pursuit of social justice. . . . In society as he saw it, . . . Trade Unionism was not only a fundamental industrial element but the very foundation itself of all the industrial and political superstructure. . . .

That is, to Albert Thomas trade unionism was not "so much an end in itself or a factor in the improvement of labor conditions as a means of securing for the masses of the people a real political apprenticeship, an experience of 'government of the People, by the People, for the People.'" It was for the same reason that Albert Thomas encouraged the co-operative movement and also the participation of the workers in the management of social insurance schemes. However, he is said to have placed his major emphasis on trade unionism (pp. 242-45).

From this view of Labor's right to social justice is deduced Thomas' theory of the role of the director in the Organization. "If its ultimate basis was social justice for the individual and

not just an industrial equilibrium between states, it must find a leadership which drew its strength and authority and influence from no purely national source." The result was that leadership devolved on the director.

From him and from him only could come proposals for action untainted by any suspicion of national manoeuvring, and if they were his proposals it followed that he must be allowed to explain and to defend them in debate. The Director therefore could not consider his vote as equivalent to that of a national Civil Servant. . . . Albert Thomas made the Conference a highly efficient legislative body. By providing it with the equivalent of a series of parliamentary bills (preliminary draft conventions) and by securing for the Office the right to "explain" them, he secured that its discussions should be effectively directed towards international solution. . . . To restrict the Conference however to its legislative task was to leave . . . only very partially used the greatest instrument which the Organization possessed for the promotion of social justice. It was for this reason that . . . he struggled hard to secure the discussion of the Director's Report and made use of the opportunity thus given for a survey of social problems in general [pp. 248-52].

With permission of the chairman of the Gov-

erning Body, Phelan quotes pointedly from Thomas' original plan of organization, in which in order to keep in close touch with all the workers' organizations, he proposed to establish in all important centers a correspondent or branch office, through which it would be possible to bypass governments and "to collect all the information necessary for the work of the Office as regards the economic and social movements of the different countries"—liaison work for which responsibility was soon located in the director's own office.

It is not to this very personal study that one would go for an analysis of the relationship between labor organization and social justice, or of the place of labor problems in the complex field of social questions. Nor does it indicate the extent to which conventions and legislation may need to be supplemented with technical assistance in their administration. Anyone however who wishes to understand the spirit that animated the ILO in its formative years and to see the impact of a great personality on that influential agency could hardly find a better book or a more authoritative guide.

BRIEF NOTICES

The Education and Work Experience of Community Organization Practitioners. By ROBERT IRVING HILLER. Published by the Association for the Study of Community Organization, New York, and Community Chests and Councils of America, Inc., New York, 1949. Pp. vi+61. \$1.25.

This report summarizes the findings in an investigation conducted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Master's degree at the University of Michigan's Institute of Social Work. It includes data submitted on questionnaires by 266 persons engaged primarily in the practice of community organization in the year 1947.

There has long been a belief that a large number of the people engaged in community organization—particularly in the community chests—were recruited from the field of business or finance and were therefore deficient in social work education and experience. The study appears to belie that belief. More than 48 per cent of the men and 38 per cent of the women were found to be possessors of graduate degrees in social work, and the median number of years of education beyond high school was six for both sexes. It should be borne in mind, however, that data were obtained from only 60 per cent of the 442 individuals who were originally invited to participate in the study. It may well be that those who failed to respond were influenced by a desire not to reveal their lack of professional preparation.

In addition to the statistical findings on education and experience, the report includes opinions on education for community organization that were

expressed by the practitioners and a number of typical biographies indicating the steps taken by the practitioners in moving into the field and advancing to their present posts. These will doubtless be suggestive to students now entering the field.

W. McM.

Rehabilitation of the Handicapped: A Survey of Means and Methods. Edited by WILLIAM H. SODEN. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1949. Pp. xiii+399. \$5.00.

The purpose of this book, a symposium of thirty-eight articles, "is to assemble representative accounts of procedures in current use for the mental and physical rehabilitation of persons disabled by illness or injury or otherwise handicapped." The volume is divided into five parts: (1) "General Medical and Surgical Technics," (2) "Neurological Methods," (3) "Psychiatric Developments," (4) "Vocational and Social Rehabilitation," and (5) "Educational and Psychological Trends." About one-fourth of the articles are reprints of papers previously published.

Among the list of authors some of the most distinguished leaders in rehabilitation are to be found. A very few of the papers are highly technical; a few are more inspirational than informative; the remainder are well distributed between these extremes. "This book is commended," the author states, "to all those interested in solving the problem presented by

[the] handicapped." Those who share this interest are a diverse group, and it is small wonder that the authors have made varied assumptions as to the readers' competence.

A recurring note throughout the volume is the need for an integrated service to the individual from the onset of disability to the point at which he may be called "rehabilitated." It is indeed heartening to find so wide a current acceptance of the goal of really integrated service that treats the individual as a whole and not by segments, and aims for continuity and not discrete steps. Some of these articles present accounts of the advances being made here and there toward better integrated service. To promote that goal even further, this reviewer believes another type of book is needed—not a symposium but a book that would present rehabilitation as an integrated process and that would be written for those engaged in some phase of rehabilitative work, not to contribute to their knowledge in their various specialties, but rather to show each his place in the whole.

MARY E. MACDONALD

Democracy in Jonesville: A Study in Quality and Inequality. By W. LLOYD WARNER and ASSOCIATES. New York: Harper & Bros., 1949. Pp. xviii+313. \$4.50.

This sociological study is appropriately dedicated to the memory of Émile Durkheim. It exemplifies a pattern and method of investigation which should satisfy the scientific sociologist as well as the practical social reformer. To describe and characterize Jonesville is to describe hundreds of American cities, east and west, north and south. Jonesville is not a metropolis or a typically rural community. What is true of its inhabitants, of their ways and attitudes, is true of the great majority of Americans.

The American professes noble ideals and admirable first principles. We find striking statements of these in our constitutions and in the Declaration of Independence. But what about conduct—three-fourths of life? What about the daily habits, the religious, cultural, and social relationships of our people? Do we try to practice what we preach or teach? What about our politics and governments, local and state? If we sin against the light of our theoretical standards, are we conscious of the fact and troubled about it? What are the trends and tendencies, apart from the cold facts?

That there is a rising tide of class distinctions in our Jonesvilles is no secret to any intelligent American. What are the causes of this tide and how does it affect the school, the church, the civic life?

There are at least four classes in Jonesville—the higher, the middle, the lower, and those between. Each class has its distinguishing characteristics. Each has its quarter. Each has its associational behavior. Money largely determines social rank, but not a little depends on the sources of income and the way one uses or spends his money.

"Easily, the most important fact about Jones-

ville is that its beliefs and values are founded on basic contradictions, and its social logic, the basic precepts on which action is founded, are a series of paradoxes." To list the paradoxes, three pages are required.

Is Jonesville actually undemocratic, and does it show that our democracy is a sham and delusion? No, say the authors. Social mobility is still a fact and factor of significance in American communities. Our classes are still open, and the individual still has a choice as to his occupation, marriage, education, social affiliations. Equality is not fully realized, but the idea of it is valuable and serves to check the forces of privilege and snobbery.

V. S. Y

Held without Bail: Physical Aspects of the Police Lockups of the City of Chicago, 1947-48. By EUGENE S. ZEMANS. Chicago: John Howard Association, 1949. Pp. xvii+65. \$1.50.

This report is an interesting factual account of a community organization project of the Howard Association aimed at the improvement of the police lockups in Chicago. The content of the report is described by the chapter headings: I, "History and Former Studies of Conditions in the Chicago Lockups"; II, "Responsibility for the Condition of the Lockups"; III, "The John Howard Association Surveys of 1947 and 1948"; IV, "Detention in New York City"; and V, "Conclusions and Recommendations."

The "Scrap Book" section of the report included in the substantial unpagged Appendix constitutes a real contribution to the literature of the correctional field. In this section are assembled news clippings, radio scripts, excerpts from the Journal of the *Proceedings of the Chicago City Council*, and copies of correspondence which resulted from the Howard Association's campaign to implement its study.

The evils of adult detention facilities have been widely discussed, but the obstacles and apathy which are encountered when efforts are directed at their improvement are known only to a few. This report outlines a method of securing action even in this, the most neglected of correctional institutions.

HUGH P. REED

Homemaking Education for Adults. By MAUDE WILIAMSON and MARY S. LYLE. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1949. Pp. xi+236. \$2.50.

This clearly and concisely written book should prove a useful source of information to those who wish to know the agencies now providing education in homemaking for adults and the wide variety of methods used both in group work and in work with individuals. It is written primarily, however, for those who have responsibility for planning and carrying out such a program. Excellent illustrations are given of programs in a variety of areas and of the promotional methods used. Differences between

educational work designed to serve the continuing learning needs and desires of adults and formal school programs are emphasized.

No over-all evaluation of this field of adult education is given, the gaps in the program, the heavy concentration in rural areas and in those areas among the white, higher-income groups.

HAZEL KYRK

Family Housing. By DEANE G. CARTER and KEITH H. HINCHCLIFF. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949. Pp. viii + 265. \$4.00.

The desire to own a home has been greatly stimulated by the experiences of recent years. Families are weary of the uncertainties imposed by the drastic shortage of rental units. To be free from the dual threats of eviction and rent hikes has become one of the desirable objectives in life.

The book is designed for families that are aiming toward homeownership. Simply and clearly written and copiously illustrated, it introduces the neophyte to the areas of information with which he should familiarize himself before venturing either to renovate an old house or to construct a new one.

Does the householder know, in light of his annual income, how much house he can afford? Does he understand the relative merits of the various methods of heating now available? Does he have a grasp of the criteria that should be considered in designing the floor layout? Is he aware of the safeguards that should be observed in installing electricity? These and scores of similar questions are answered in this book. Here is a veritable mine of useful information for those who can ill afford costly mistakes in undertaking the hazardous adventure of homeownership.

W. McM.

Norwegian-American Studies and Records, Vol. XV. Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1949. Pp. viii + 238. \$2.00.

It is now generally recognized that immigrants from other than English-speaking countries, also have played an important role in the making of America, but such recognition is comparatively recent. American historians, writing prior to 1925, were inclined to ignore the contribution of non-English speaking immigrants; and, had it not been for the historical societies organized by the different immigrant groups, much material throwing light on our national development would undoubtedly have been lost. Prominent among them is the Norwegian-American Historical Association, which has issued since 1926 some thirty volumes about Norwegian immigration. Theodore C. Blegen and Einar Haugen, recognized authorities in this field, are authors or editors of a number of these volumes.

The present book, one of a series of "Studies and Records," furnishes varied information about Norwegian immigrants—largely "rank and file" immigrants. Much of it is in the form of letters, reminis-

cences of early settlers, and texts of pioneer songs and poems. Several articles show that among Norwegian immigrants, as among most other immigrant groups, the foreign-language press and foreign-language church exerted great influence.

A group of the letters included in this volume is of unusual interest. In 1890 Thorstein Veblen applied for a position as instructor in natural sciences in St. Olaf College (controlled by the United Norwegian-Lutheran Church of America); but, because of his unorthodox religious views, the Board of Trustees decided that "it was impossible to employ him, however honorable and gifted he may otherwise be."

MARIAN SCHIBSBY

History: A Guide to Peace. By ERNO WITTMANN. New York: Columbia Press, 1948. Pp. vi + 423. \$5.50.

No thoughtful person questions the necessity and desirability of world-law and world-government. National sovereignty, John Dewey has truly observed, means international anarchy. Perhaps another world war or two will complete the accumulating evidence of the grim truth that there is no defense against the atom bomb. The price of moral progress, particularly in international relations, has always been high.

That, at any rate, is one of the lessons of history. We need patience and perseverance. We have to consider the steps now possible in the direction of the goal of civilization. What are these steps? European federation, a customs union in continental Europe, British-American solidarity institutionalized?

Dr. Wittmann, a jurist, affirms in the erudite book under notice that history properly studied and interpreted leaves us in no doubt as to the supreme necessity, at this critical juncture, of a grouping of great powers and the application of the discredited principle of power politics in a constructive, progressive, and humane way. The two giants among the nations now face each other in a dangerous spirit of mutual fear, suspicion, and resentment. The cold war continues, and the military leaders can say nothing more encouraging than that the hot war is not likely in the *very near* future! This perilous situation accounts for the frantic preparations for the dreaded conflict and the waste of billions of dollars annually.

What can be done to improve matters? Dr. Wittmann's answer is this: "The world needs a great power able to restrain the national policies of both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R." The United Nations is not that power, and the veto feature of its charter renders it impossible to convert the U.N. into such a power. Hence the theoretical solution is ruled out. America is accused by Russia of encircling her and striving to unite the democratic and half-democratic states against her and thus to divide for an indefinite period the Eurasian continent. The United States, he suggests, may be obliged by events to do just that openly and defiantly. What has history to say about the consequences of *that* enterprise?

Many students of history will demur to Dr. Wittmann's distinctly disturbing, not to say pessimistic, conclusions. To appeal to history is merely to start another controversy. Dr. Wittman has challenged his more hopeful opponents in a way they cannot well ignore.

V. S. Y.

Advertisement Control. By A. M. LYONS, K.C., and S. W. MAGNUS, B.A. Essex, England: Thames Bank Pub. Co., Ltd., 1949. Pp. xxv+197. 12s. 6d.

In 1948 a completely new, over-all system of regulating the display of outdoor advertisements was established in England and Wales. It has been effective since August 1 of that year, and already several decisions of considerable interest to Americans have been rendered under it. The authors of this little book are not prepared, they say, to estimate positively the total effect of the new regulations in practice, but it is clear that substantial benefits are expected there by lovers of natural beauty and civilized amenity, not to mention road safety.

The information provided by the authors is more than adequate. The order of presentation of the rather elaborate law, known as "The Town and Country Planning Regulations," and the general arrangement of the contents are notably good. The appeals taken to the minister of town and country planning and the grounds for the decisions rendered in these cases—which cannot be taken into court, save in a few specified instances—make profitable and instructive reading. The British have their own traditional way of doing things and dealing with difficult problems. Whether it be economic "revolution by consent" or advertising control with justice to the landlords and the mercantile elements, but with due regard to higher and more human considerations, many judicious Americans feel like taking their hats off to the slow-but-sure gradualists of the Mother of Parliaments.

V. S. Y.

The Field of Social Work. By ARTHUR E. FINK. Rev. ed. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1949. Pp. xiv+577. \$3.75.

This has been a well-known standard text since its first appearance in 1942. The author has now added a new preface, explaining the reason for a revision of the earlier volume. The following statement is explanatory:

"Practitioners who have stayed at home in the voluntarily supported agencies or in the governmentally supported social services have added new knowledge and newer skills. These developments have made it necessary that the 1942 edition be revised and brought up to date. Several new chapters have been added. The chapter order has been rearranged with greater emphasis upon the public social services. An entirely new group of illustrative case material has been incorporated. Bibliography has been largely restricted to the book literature, which is more likely to be available to the teacher and stu-

dent; only the leading and pertinent journals are referred to in the bibliography at each chapter's end for teacher and student to carry on additional exploration."

Whether one agrees with Professor Fink's earlier or later definition of the term "social work," he is correct in pointing to the effect of World War II, to the work of UNRRA in the development of social welfare.

Europe in the Seventeenth Century. By DAVID OGG. 5th ed. rev. ("The History of Europe" Series.) London: Adam and Charles Black; New York: Macmillan Co., 1948. Pp. vii+578. \$5.50.

Several passages of this book have been rewritten for this fifth edition, the Bibliography has been revised, and an attempt has been made to add recent books of importance. By the preparation of successive editions of the text, there has been an opportunity "for the exposition of an interpretation of the period which, with years, may have become more mature," and on several important points the author hopes that he has "succeeded in expressing himself with greater clarity and conviction than was possible when the book was first published in 1925."

The author holds that there is "no such thing as 'absolute' or even 'objective' history, and that all history-writing, so far from being a scientific process, is at best a literary interpretation of the past, through the medium of the writer's personality and experience."

In the Preface of the general editor (Professor Lipson) it is stated that the purpose of "this Series is to present a survey of the History of Europe from the break-up of the Roman Empire down to the present day," with the work to be based as far as possible on original authorities, and to take into account "the extensive monographic literature which has grown up within recent years." This volume, like others in the series, has a critical bibliography and notes "intended to indicate the sources upon which statements in the text are based, and to enable students to pursue for themselves particular lines of thought or more detailed investigation of particular aspects of the subject." The attempt to present the material in such a form as to be most helpful to those who wish to understand the main currents of European history provides an opportunity to "combine the learning of the scholar with the experience of the teacher."

The seventeenth century is presented "not as a disconnected series of petty wars and intrigues, but as a living and interesting past in which many old prejudices were abandoned and many modern problems foreshadowed."

The World of Emma Lazarus. By H. E. JACOB. New York: Schocken Books, 1949. Pp. 222. \$3.00.

This book, written one hundred years after the birth of Emma Lazarus, will interest social workers who have had any part in work for immigrants.

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Emma Lazarus did not belong to an immigrant family. At the time of her girlhood there were perhaps 150,000 or 200,000 Jews then living in this country. We are told that the Lazarus and Nathan families had come from Southern Europe at a very early period in our history and were considered "old inhabitants" of this country in comparison with the poorer Jews who had come from Germany and Eastern Europe in the later period. "As a Jew of Portuguese stock she felt herself part of the Jewish nobility, the Jewish tailors and milliners from Poland on the other hand, were the Jewish masses." Emma belonged to a very well-to-do family, and she and her sisters were taught at home by tutors.

Many of the poems in her first book, which was published in 1867, when she was eighteen, had been written when she was much younger, some of them when she was only fourteen. Shortly after the publication of her first book, she made the acquaintance of Ralph Waldo Emerson, which led to a long friendship. Emerson is said to have advised her about her poems and her intellectual interests.

Emma Lazarus was stirred by the Russian pogroms and was greatly moved when the Russian Jews began arriving in 1881. In 1881 she "took up the cause of her people," which led her into "the rough grounds of polemics and politics." It has been said of her that after the Russian Jewish immigrants began coming here "she was no longer content to sing of long vanished crusaders, but herself became a crusader."

Her lines engraved on the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty in New York are now classic:

"A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
Mother of Exiles. . ."

The Golden Threads: New England's Mill Girls and Magnates. By HANNAH JOSEPHSON. New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1949. Pp. ix+325. \$3.75.

This is a study for the feminist or the social historian rather than the social worker. It is an interesting account of the mill girls and the new mill village of the period when few occupations were open to women and labor was in demand; and the story of the educated women who worked in the early mills is always interesting. The writer had access to a "large amount" of unpublished material on Abbott Lawrence and has made good use of it.

The account of Lowell in its earliest period as a manufacturing city is based on the account given by Michel Chevalier, who was sent here by the French government to study certain governmental problems in 1834. Here is the story of Lucy Larcom, Harriet Hanson Robinson, Sarah Bagley, and the reports of such visitors as Charles Dickens and Harriet Martineau. Here is the story, too, of the supplementing of the American mill girls by the immigrant Irish girls and of the changes that gradually took place in

the "industrial paradise" that Lowell once seemed to be.

The author is interested not only in the early mill girls but in the achievements of the early capitalists who in the development of the textile industry showed a "breadth of imagination and a spirit of enterprise that are in the finest traits of American business men."

The book contains not only a series of interesting chapters but a bibliographical note and a bibliography.

Government Publications for the Citizen: A Report of the Public Library Inquiry of the Social Science Research Council. By JAMES L. MCCAMY with the assistance of JULIA B. MCCAMY. New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. Pp. xi+139. \$2.50.

This volume should be very useful both to students and to casual seekers for information. The latter feel lost in a wilderness of government reports, and the author is a competent guide to lead them out in the right way.

Professor McCamy, now of the University of Wisconsin political science faculty, has a background of experience with government agencies. He was at one time with the federal Departments of Agriculture and Commerce, and he also served with various government war agencies. He is the author of an earlier volume *Government Publicity—Its Practice in Federal Administration*.

In this recent book Professor McCamy surveys the scope and present machinery for the publication and distribution of government information to the general reader, and he examines the purposes and contents of the various types of publications; and the various agencies, federal, state and local, public and private, which reach the reader through government publications.

Since this is a volume in a "Public Library Inquiry," attention is called to the fact that, in the extension of the information in public documents to a wide audience, the public library should play a leading part. "To bring about the changes proposed in the present system will require cooperative effort on the part of government agencies, legislative bodies, and public, university and research libraries. The results of such changes would mean that large numbers of readers would be better informed through a more efficient use of government publications."

This is an important report, for there is no doubt that the administrative agencies of the government have a great deal of valuable information which ought to be widely distributed and that people will be encouraged to get the government documents which fall within their field of interest. The author points out that the difficulties "of distributing this material in usable form to the general public are many and varied," and this volume should help in the problem of distribution.

REVIEWS OF GOVERNMENT REPORTS AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

Report of the Special Committee on Social Welfare of the Joint Legislative Committee on Interstate Cooperation, State of New York. (Legislative Document No. 62, 1949.) Albany, N.Y., 1949. Pp. 80.

This report was prepared by a committee of assemblymen and senators from the New York State Legislature, together with a number of administrative members on the general committee and advisory members on the subcommittees. These latter committees were organized to deal with co-ordination of social resources, with the foster-care of children, and with institutional care and hospitalization. In addition to presenting the welfare program and services of the state as well as their scope and financing, the document presents certain legislative recommendations of the committee.

While providing a valuable compilation of data regarding the present services, the *Report* raises a number of important questions for further study and recommends that the type of investigation represented by this committee's work should be carried forward on a more intensive scale.

This document is especially valuable in indicating something of the progressive philosophy of a distinguished group of the State Legislature. The emphasis throughout the report upon further knowledge of the causes of the existing welfare needs, of greater co-operation between the various types of services provided by the state, and of development of preventive activities is indeed extremely encouraging.

WALTER W. PETTIT

Austin, Texas

Gateway to Citizenship. By CARL B. HYATT; edited by EDWINA AUSTIN AVERY. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1948. Pp. x+256. \$0.75.

This pamphlet will be welcomed by all who hold that the naturalization procedures and ceremonies should serve as a medium for stressing the privileges and responsibilities of the new citizens and strengthening the emotional basis

of their loyalty to the United States. These new citizens and those who welcome them must deplore the perfunctory manner in which they are still frequently conducted, although admittedly there has been considerable improvement in this respect in recent years. The *Gateway to Citizenship*, first issued in 1943 and prepared by Mr. Hyatt, director of the Attorney General's Citizenship Program, in co-operation with the citizenship committees of the American and the Federal Bar Associations, has undoubtedly helped to bring about such improvement, as have also the determined efforts of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

This revised edition of the pamphlet seems likely to be even more useful than the earlier one. The mass of source material needed in connection with citizenship recognition ceremonies and patriotic programs in general has been considerably expanded: for example, texts of famous creeds, codes, and patriotic poems; statements by Presidents, chief justices, and others stressing the significance and value of American citizenship; and notable addresses made at ceremonies of this sort. A new section has also been added which furnishes concrete suggestions for organizing such ceremonies and specimen programs suitable for various occasions and various surroundings.

MARIAN SCHIBSBY

Fillmore, California

Sickness in the Population of England and Wales in 1944-1947. By PERCY STOCKS, C.M.G., M.D., F.R.C.P., Chief Medical Statistician of the General Register Office. London: H. M. S. Office, 1949. Pp. iv+51. 1s. (For sale at British Information Services, Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20. \$0.35.)

Morbidity statistics have long been the despair of public health officials. This brief report reviews many of the problems that complicate the task of obtaining statistics of illness, but it also demonstrates that some progress is being made. The data included in the report were obtained from three sources: (1) notifications of

infectious diseases; (2) the Social Survey—a national sampling, which though under official auspices, is nevertheless somewhat similar to the unofficial “polls” that have been so popular in the United States; (3) certifications of invalids for priority supplies of food.

The most interesting part of the report is the section on “Definitions.” Many of the terms frequently used in this field, such as “morbidity rate,” “prevalence rate,” and the like, have no precise, universally accepted meaning. Whether it is better to try to give restricted meanings to these terms or to introduce new unfamiliar terminology is a debatable question. The author has chosen to experiment with both approaches. Thus *inception rate* is defined to mean “number of illnesses which began during the period per stated number of population, whereas a new term—*agrescence rate*—means the “number of persons who became ill during the period per stated number of population.”

The twenty-one tables in the report contain data of very unequal significance, as the author points out. Thus the figures based on notifications are believed to be fairly complete with respect to acute poliomyelitis but “only fractional” with respect to dysentery. Interesting discoveries have emerged in the Social Survey relative to the effect of memory on the statistics. The longer the duration of an illness, the more likely that its inception date will not be remembered. As a result, greater discrepancies appear in the data on serious illnesses than in those concerned with minor illnesses.

The author has compared his findings in some instances with similar studies that have been made in the United States.

WAYNE McMILLEN

University of Chicago

Families Receiving Aid to Dependent Children in North Carolina. By RUTH LINDQUIST and MARGARET WOODSON. Raleigh, N.C.: State Board of Public Welfare, 1949. Pp. vii+67.

This is a follow-up study made in 1948 of a selected number of ADC families known to the agency in 1942, when the entire ADC group was included in a federal study of the characteristics of assistance families. The purpose of the 1948 study was to learn what progress the children had made in a six-year period.

There were 9,383 ADC families included in the survey of October, 1942, and approximately

an eighth of that number in the 1948 study. Three-fourths of the families were white, one-fourth were Negro. The causes of dependency maintained the same order of frequency, though there was some variation in proportions. In order of size were families in which the wage-earner had died, those in which he was absent from the home, those in which he was with the family but incapacitated, and children living in the homes of relatives.

In October, 1948, two-thirds of the families that had been dependent in 1942 had become self-supporting, chiefly because of employment or increased earnings of the mother, payments received from family members in the armed forces, increased earnings of the fathers, or remarriage of widowed mothers. In 10 per cent of these families, the youngest child had attained the age of eighteen or was sixteen and not in school.

Twenty-one per cent of the families had continued to receive the grant, and 9 per cent had had intermittent aid. The larger the family, the longer the period of need. Sixty per cent of the families with five or more children were in this group that had been continuously known to the agency. Even so, few had relied wholly upon ADC funds as evidenced by the fact that over the years the families had averaged approximately \$250 a year from assistance payments.

About one-fourth had received help from public or private agencies at some time, and 83 per cent of all families had one or more persons aged sixteen or over in employment in October, 1948. Working and earning were a part of the pattern as soon as the young person reached the age at which he was able to work. The families lived on marginal incomes. The combined weekly earnings of members of nonrecipient families was \$40; they averaged \$30 in families still assisted. Those who worked were generally in unskilled employment. A fourth of the families had one or more members employed in farming, and a fourth had members employed in mills or factories.

Now for the children. Almost half the children dependent in 1942 had reached the age of sixteen; 40 per cent of the older group were twenty-one years of age or older. They had married young. Over one-half of the girls and one-fourth of the boys over sixteen had married, had one or more children, and were established in their own homes. They had a minimum of education, but a significant number had graduated from high school. Some who had enrolled

had dropped out either through lack of interest or because of financial pressure that made earning a necessity. There were fine students among the ADC children. Of those who graduated, 10 per cent had received some scholastic recognition or award. Quite a few over sixteen were still in high school. Those who went to work were employed early in nonseasonal full-time work, and they earned very little. Almost two-thirds of the older group were employed in October, 1948, as were more than one-third of those over sixteen. In self-support families, the average weekly earnings of the children were \$24.45; in the dependent families, the average earnings were \$10.90. In one-third of the families the children made weekly contributions to help support their parents.

There was less juvenile delinquency than might have been expected. Five per cent of the children from 2 per cent of the families had had court hearings, including foster-home placement hearings for dependent children. Nevertheless, thirty-seven children had been committed to training schools, and forty-seven young adults had served or were serving penal sentences.

The conclusions were general and somewhat disappointing; and the findings occasionally would have gained in significance if they had been presented in the light of policy. The study raised some questions it might have answered: Were the former ADC children able to maintain themselves and their families without aid; were the homes more stable and secure than those from which they had come; how many of the young couples had returned to the parental homes or left the children with the grandparents? Were the families that had regained independence managing on incomes greater or less than the amount of the grant they had formerly received? Were the children known to the juvenile court from the homes in which the conduct of parents was in question or from the seemingly good homes or both? I gladly concur in the final conclusion, though it applies to all children and not only to ADC children: "To teachers and other leaders the challenge of these boys and girls is unmistakable."

This is a welcome document. Many accurate, comprehensive social studies of ADC families and children are needed if we are successfully to evaluate a great program and to protect it against unwarranted criticism and abuse.

CAROL K. GOLDSTEIN

*Illinois Public Aid Commission
Chicago, Illinois*

International Exchange of Social Welfare Personnel. (Technical Assistance for Social Progress No. 1.) Lake Success, N.Y.: United Nations Department of Social Affairs, 1949. (For sale, Columbia University Press, Morningside Heights, N.Y.) Pp. ix+112. \$0.80.

This study based on reports from thirty countries was made at the request of the Economic and Social Council and its Social Commission in the Department of Social Affairs, and the data included were current as of December, 1948. The volume is a source of information as to the opportunities available for the international exchange of social welfare personnel, including fellowship and scholarship arrangements, and summarizes the very considerable experience up-to-date. Both the resources of the various countries as well as the intergovernmental programs are discussed.

There appears to be general agreement among the participating governments as to the value of an exchange program. A few of the experiences of the war-devastated countries are included. There are also those countries with long established welfare services and others in the early stages of their social welfare development, and obviously their interests and needs vary. Three categories of personnel for whom foreign observation and study are considered are the so-called "key" officials or those responsible for policy formation and important administrative functions, the experienced workers who carry on the technical aspects of the programs, and the inexperienced personnel or those about to enter the social welfare field. The first group, who cannot be absent from their respective countries very long, are interested primarily in an opportunity to survey social welfare legislation and organization and administrative methods. For the second group a longer period of study or observation is recommended of approximately six months, as such personnel is primarily interested in the specific details of social welfare operations. For the inexperienced workers particularly from countries where modern social welfare programs are just beginning, the report indicated that an observation experience is inadequate and stressed the need for basic training and supervised practice in established schools of social work. Members of the faculties of American schools who have known something of the observation experiences of this group of foreign visitors would, I think, concur in this recommendation.

The section of the report on the selection procedures is especially interesting and reflects

some of the same difficulties as are encountered by schools of social work in the United States in determining their admission requirements. There is, first of all, the question of age and the considerable divergence of opinion as to the desirability of imposing age limits. Reports from the United Kingdom, the United States, and Italy emphasized the importance of criteria other than age. Of the twenty-four countries recommending an age requirement, fifteen reported twenty-five years as a desirable minimum, whereas eight of the countries suggested an age range from eighteen to twenty-three years. The lower minimum age was a reflection of the beginning stage of development in those countries, including five of the Latin-American countries, and of their wish to recruit promising young workers. In contrast, the report from China indicated that foreign observation should follow a substantial foundation of Chinese experience and therefore recommended a minimum age of thirty years for both fellowships and scholarships. There were also varying opinions as to a maximum age limit, and this ranged from thirty to fifty years. Other questions inherent in the selection of personnel, such as prior training and experience, the nature of the job commitment following the period of study, language requirements, and personal qualifications, are all considered.

Another section deals with determination of fields of study and the selection of the host countries. Opportunities to study child and youth welfare, family welfare, especially for social assistance and social security programs, and social welfare training rank high among the interests of all the countries. In specifying the countries with which an interchange of personnel was preferred, the United States, the Scandinavian countries, and the United Kingdom were listed in that order. Many other administrative questions related to the whole general subject are discussed in this report, but reference to them will have to be omitted.

Two important points about the report are the restrictions in the UN fellowship program and its temporary character. The program was first authorized by the General Assembly in December, 1946, for the purpose of enabling suitability qualified welfare officials to observe and familiarize themselves with the experience of other countries and during the years 1947 and 1948 an excellent start was made in this direction. The mandate from the General Assembly, however, overlooked the fact that some of the countries are lacking in such persons, and as a

result many of those whose programs are undeveloped and therefore most in need of leadership and trained personnel are unable to recommend suitable candidates for UN fellowships. At the same time the requests for training assistance have constantly increased, and the report recommends that the original objectives of the program be re-examined. Fellowships extending for three and six months' periods would be continued for qualified representatives but in addition an academic year of basic training with supervised practice, followed by a one to three months' period of observation, is urged for inexperienced workers.

The temporary status of the program has made it difficult for the interested countries to plan in terms of the world-wide shortage of trained welfare staffs. The final section of the report recommends that a permanent fellowship provision in the social welfare field should be recognized as one of the long-term responsibilities of the UN and that a regular budget be authorized. The Social Welfare Fellowship Program, as well as the entire program of Advisory Welfare Services, has since been put on a "continuing basis" and included in the regular budget of the United Nations. Such action will encourage governments to canvass their long-term demands for qualified welfare staffs, to work out priorities among the various fields of study, and to use the machinery of the UN in a systematic way, over a reasonable period of time. More effective methods of exchange can then be adopted and the report contains specific suggestions to this end. This report should be of considerable interest to the practicing social workers and to the faculties of schools of social work in the United States. Frustrated as we frequently are in our efforts to help in the promotion of peace and international good will, we can at least throw the weight of our professional organizations behind a long-range program for the interchange of welfare personnel under the auspices of the UN.

ELIZABETH WISNER

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State of California, *Final Reports of the Special Crime Study Commissions: Social and Economic Causes of Crime and Delinquency* (pp. 197); *Juvenile Justice* (pp. 84); *Adult Corrections and Release Procedures* (pp. 83); *Criminal Law and Procedure* (pp. 128). Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1949.

State of California, *Probation Services in California, 1948-49*. By a Technical Committee for the Special Crime Study Commissions on Adult Corrections and Release Procedures and Juvenile Justice. Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1949. Pp. 51.

These final reports of California's four Special Crime Study Commissions appointed by Governor Earl Warren on November 1, 1947, together with the special report dealing with probation services, are excellent models of self-appraisal in this important field. The commissions were charged with broad mandates in their respective fields; and, although handicapped by lack of staff and lack of time, the reports provide thorough coverage of the basic issues in each of the areas studied. California has had a great increase in population, estimated at more than 40 per cent since 1940, and this has caused numerous problems, not the least of which are those dealt with in these reports.

The Commission on Social and Economic Causes of Crime and Delinquency, with Dr. Arlien Johnson, dean of the Graduate School of Social Work of the University of Southern California, chairman, acquitted itself admirably in what is perhaps the most difficult of the areas studied. After reviewing the significant literature of the field, the Commission subscribed to the doctrine that the interplay of environmental factors and individual personal characteristics is responsible for criminal and delinquent behavior in certain individuals. A series of findings by the Commission was followed by nine specific recommendations covering such matters as research, statistics, child and adult guidance clinics, community self-studies, recreation and leisure-time activities, slum clearance and urban redevelopment, regulation of migrant labor camps, local relief and general assistance, and alcoholism. In addition the Commission suggested projects for continued study by the Board of Corrections. The *Report* also includes an interesting statement on California's agricultural economy and its relationship to the problem of crime, and nearly half of the *Report* is devoted to a study of selected social and economic factors related to crime and delinquency in four California counties. A brief but excellent statement on criminal statistics in California by Ronald H. Beattie, chief of the Bureau of Statistics of the California Department of Justice is included. Mr. Beattie has a national reputation in this special field, and his statements have more than local application.

The Commission on Juvenile Justice made an

interesting report marked by its comprehensive coverage of the various areas that impinge upon this particular field of child welfare. The *Report* is divided into twelve parts dealing respectively with the courts, probation services, law enforcement, traffic control, the youth authority, schools, public welfare, commercial recreation, public recreation, health services, research, and community organization. Altogether sixty-eight recommendations are made, each of which is accompanied by a description of its purpose and a brief discussion of its merits.

Social workers will agree with the majority of recommendations made by this Commission, although one recommendation, in particular, is a controversial one. Because of certain serious offenses committed by youthful offenders, the Commission recommended that the judges of the juvenile courts make specific findings as to the fitness of minors to be dealt with under the juvenile court act in all cases of offenders who are minors over sixteen years of age. In California the juvenile court has original and exclusive jurisdiction over all persons under eighteen years of age, and the recommendation to reduce this age in certain cases is defended on the ground that some youthful offenders, because of prior record, type of offense, and character should not be "included within the philosophy, processing, or available facilities of the juvenile court" (p. 23). The recommendation is modified somewhat by another recommendation proposing the creation of a special youth court with exclusive jurisdiction over persons between the ages of sixteen and twenty inclusive, who are charged with criminal offenses. As the Commission described it, "a youth court would recognize the wholesome drive of the adolescent to take on the full responsibility of an individual with personal rights and responsibilities without throwing him into the too frequently sordid surroundings and practices of the ordinary criminal courts and without denying to him the training and corrective measures provided for persons under the jurisdiction of the juvenile court" (p. 24).

The Commission is on much firmer ground in its forthright condemnation of the use of informal probation. It is recommended that all cases accepted for supervision or treatment services by probation officers be reported to the juvenile court and subject to review by it. In its discussion of this recommendation the following statement is made:

As an agency representing the authoritative and protective functioning of the juvenile court the pro-

bation department cannot function as an independent administrative agency to provide services to families and children on a voluntary basis. So-called "informal probation" in cases where neither the authority nor the protection of the court is required is in effect a straight family or child welfare service and should be provided by either a public or private agency with no aura of court authority attached to it. In cases where the element of authority attaching to the probation department is necessary to the reception of the services offered, such authority should not be exercised except with the knowledge of the court and subject to its review [p. 29].

This point is further strengthened by the Commission's statement to the effect that an administrative agency rather than the court should provide protective services for children. It is pointed out that an administrative agency authorized to accept and investigate complaints and referrals concerning the welfare of children and to provide the necessary services "can give to the families involved an opportunity to work at the solution of their own problems without an immediate threat of court compulsion" (p. 59).

The Commission on Adult Corrections and Release Procedures made specific recommendations in such areas as alcoholism, alcoholic beverage control, jails, local parole, probation, and the state correctional system. California's correctional system has been admirably revamped and revitalized during the past decade, and the recommendations concerning the correctional institutions are confined for the most part to extensions of treatment services and other improvements rather than proposing radical changes. With respect to probation services, it is recommended that state-wide minimum standards for probation personnel and administration be established and that a state subsidy be made to counties which comply with such standards. The use of subsidies is also recommended to stimulate proposed improvements in the jails, so it is quite probable that as far as this Commission is concerned, the subsidy device is favored over alternative methods of bringing about improvements, such as state-administered services, especially for the smaller counties. While many will believe that the experience with subsidies, or more correctly grants-in-aid, has not demonstrated that this method is the best one to bring about substantial changes, it may well be for California a suitable first step in the right direction. At least, where two governmental bodies, state and local, work together constructively with a problem, some improvements may be expected.

The report of the Commission on Criminal Law and Procedure lists thirty-three specific recommendations in the form of amendments to the penal code. In addition the Commission had the advantage of using a series of recommendations for changes in criminal procedure in both inferior and superior courts which was submitted by the Honorable Hartley Shaw, presiding judge of the Appellate Department, Superior Court of Los Angeles County. The *Report* also includes majority and minority statements in the several areas in which there was a disagreement among Commission members. The three-to-two split with respect to the majority recommendation that statutory restrictions on the power of the courts to grant probation be repealed is of particular interest. Both the majority and minority statements are excellent presentations of the arguments for each stand.

During the course of the studies by the several Commissions, the Commission on Adult Corrections and Release Procedures and the Commission on Juvenile Justice set up a technical committee which made an interesting and useful report, *Probation Services in California 1948-1949*. This report, written and edited by John Schapps, Western Director of the National Probation and Parole Association, is one of the most valuable recent contributions in this particular field. As would be expected, very wide differences were found in the organization, staffing, financing, and administrative responsibilities of the various county probation departments. The largest department, Los Angeles, has more than three hundred professional staff members, while twenty counties have only one probation officer each, and half of these officers serve on a part-time basis.

The findings of the report are summarized as follows:

- (1) Great inconsistencies of probation service resources exist between one county and another in California.
- (2) The most populous counties have much better financed, staffed, and equipped departments than the middle and smaller ones.
- (3) In terms of accepted administrative standards, there is an acute staff shortage in relation to the number of cases currently assumed by most departments.
- (4) A great unmet need for probation services lies everywhere in the lower criminal courts (municipal, police and justice), particularly in the "middle" population groupings of counties.
- (5) Adequacy of probation services follows the pattern of best (but less than optimum) performance in the larger communities with a diminu-

tion as the less populous communities are taken into account.

- (6) Deficiencies in reports and records and in the method of compiling them are common; in numerous instances extreme; sometimes virtually total.
- (7) Probation casework through supervision and treatment is not implemented to the extent which this basic function properly demands.
- (8) No comprehensive administrative processes except those of consultation and common endeavor operate to unify the policies and performance of California's 59 separate probation departments [p. 43].

These statements, which are amply supported by many pages of data presented in tabular and chart form, are all the more significant when one considers the generally accepted fact that California has developed probation services more extensively than most of the other states. Nevertheless, it is heartening to note that an attempt was made to study realistically the facts of the situation and to bring forth conclusions which would help to improve practices.

Without question, these are useful reports, which could well be duplicated by many other states in furnishing the factual basis for real improvements in the correctional field—an area which, in comparison with others, still suffers from a pronounced cultural lag.

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North Carolina State Board of Public Welfare, Biennial Report, July 1, 1946, to June 30, 1948. Raleigh, N.C., 1949. Pp. 123.

North Carolina has a State Board of Public Welfare of seven members. The well-known commissioner, Ellen Winston, has held this office since 1944. In this *Report* will be found a series of division reports: that is, Public Assistance, Child Welfare, Psychiatric and Psychological Services, and Institutional and Protective Service. Then there are reports of Service Units: Field Social Work Service, Fund-Raising Projects, Personnel and County Organization, Staff Development, Work among Negroes, Information Service, Statistical Service, and Accounts and Audits.

The field social-work representatives are said to have served "in a liaison capacity in all areas of interest between the state Board of Public Welfare and the local units." And it is through field service that the county departments of public welfare have been kept informed on all

phases of the program and information needed by the state staff has been made available.

The field staff in the Division of Public Assistance is used in a supervisory capacity. Considerable time was apparently given to the reading of public assistance case records in the various counties as a means of supervision; and questions raised by the federal representatives are cleared by the field staff.

With regard to the Division of Child Welfare the *Report* shows that the field staff is used in both consultant and supervisory capacities. That is, consultation is given on child welfare service cases in those counties not having regular consultant service from the Division of Child Welfare. Adoptions are supervised by field representatives as requested by the Director of Child Welfare.

A further service of the field staff is in its work of interpreting to county staff members the resources available through the Division of Psychiatric and Psychological Services. Then the Division of Institutional and Protective Service uses the field staff to interpret policies and procedures and for purposes of consultation. It is important that a special effort seems to have been made to end the long condemned practice of holding children in jails.

Another interesting section of the *Report* deals with the inter-agency activities which included during the biennium the preparation of a "statement of understanding" between the State Board of Public Welfare and both the State Commission for the Blind and the Crippled Children's Division of the State Board of Health; and a series of conferences with representatives of the State School for the Blind, the State School for the Deaf, the North Carolina Hospitals Board of Control, the Parole Commission, the Veterans Administration, and the Social Service Division of Duke Hospital for "the purpose of clarifying problems and developing policies and procedures to be followed by county departments of public welfare in working with these various agencies."

Expanded services of the Division of Institutional and Protective Services of the State Board of Public Welfare relating to jails and lockups seem to have been put into effect on January 1, 1948; and the town jails were added to the state and county prisons to be inspected as provided for by the 1947 General Assembly. An advisory committee of sheriffs and police officers called for by the 1947 legislation was organized with representation from the Sheriffs' Association and the Police Officers' Association,

with representation also from State Health and Insurance Departments, the State Bureau of Investigation, the U.S. Marshal's Office, and the Institute of Government to develop workable plans of jail procedures and standards. Special attention was given to juveniles and to mental cases held in county jails.

The Division of Psychiatric and Psychological Services is said to have given continuous aid and encouragement toward the establishment of community mental hygiene clinics throughout the state.

It is noted that there has been "an increasing interest" in the employment of Negro social workers during this period. Such workers were added to the staffs of five different county departments of public welfare. It is important in this connection to note that the consultant discussed the employment possibilities in the public welfare field with numerous groups and individuals. As a result of interpretation in this area, "an increasingly larger number of Negroes" have received scholarships through the Division of Child Welfare.

Altogether this is an interesting report with 100 pages of text and only 17 pages of statistics, whereas in too many state reports the division between statistics and text is reversed.

E. A.

Labour Problems in Greece. Report of the MIS-
SION OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE
TO GREECE (October–November 1947). Geneva:
International Labour Office, 1949. Pp.
viii+381. \$2.00.

Trade-unionists, social workers, and practical sociologists will find much information of interest and importance in this report of the International Labour Office to the Greek government, which includes the elaborate and largely critical observations of that government on the report, and the report of the supervisory committee of the Ninth Pan-Hellenic Trade Union Congress. The International Labour Office had been invited by the government to undertake a full investigation of the Greek labor legislation and to recommend changes and modifications it might deem wise and feasible. A working mission was accordingly sent to Greece to supplement the study of available documentary information by personal contacts on the ground. The impartiality and competence of this mission the Greek government did not question, but it took exceptions to what it regarded as political comments and references to the civil war. It also

pointed out some inaccuracies in the report—which were duly revised and corrected.

The mission made full allowance in its comprehensive report for the difficulties under which both the government and the trade-unions labored during the troubled period of internal warfare, insurrections, repressive measures, the dictatorship, and the serious dissensions within the labor movement itself. It recognized that constitutional and democratic reforms in Greece must precede the free development of a strong, united, politically neutral trade-union organization. But it did recommend six major improvements in the status and legal position of the unions. It discreetly and mildly pointed out that certain regulative and restrictive measures still in force against the unions are not exactly consistent with constitutional guaranties.

The Greeks are a democratic people with cherished traditions of freedom and justice. The government, despite individual ministers of genuinely liberal convictions, is anything but democratic. There are too many parties, factions, and subfactions in Greece. The trade-union movement is weak and ideologically divided. Good faith on all sides is, therefore, the first essential condition of the country's future normal evolution. Of this there is as yet insufficient evidence. The civil war, or the rebellion aided by foreign subversive elements, as the government puts it, is over, thanks to American intervention. The era of positive and progressive changes is still only a hope.

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Report of the Ministry of Health for the Year Ended 31st March 1948, Including the Report of the Chief Medical Officer on the State of the Public Health for the Year 1947. (Cmd. 7734.) London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1949. Pp. xi+282. 5s. (For sale at British Information Services, New York 20. \$1.60.)

This *Report of the Ministry of Health*, issued in June, 1949, but covering the period 1947–48, marked the centenary of Britain's first Public Health Act. When the *Report* was being prepared, "intensive preparations" were under way for the inauguration of the National Health Service, and a brief account of these preparations will be found in Section II of this *Report*. However, we are told that "the telling of the story of how this great enterprise was launched,

and how it fared the first nine months," must wait for a later report.

The *Report* includes the *Report of the Chief Medical Officer on the State of the Public Health* for the preceding year. "Once again he is able to say that the country's vital statistics remain excellent, and many of the low records of mortality were again lowered."

For the first time the *Report* includes a chapter on "Mental Health," which formerly appeared in the Annual Report of the Board of Control. This change is a result of the integration of physical and mental health services under the National Health Service Act, and the establishment of a Mental Health Division of the Department.

The *Report of the Chief Medical Officer* includes in Part I sections on vital statistics, on general epidemiology, on tuberculosis, maternity care, child care, nutrition, hospitals, dental services, nursing and midwifery, and a few other subjects. Another long section deals with such subjects as the preparation then being made for the new national health service, and the mental health service. Finally, Part II deals with "Housing Problems and Policy," the Rent Restriction Acts of 1920-39, and some local government problems. There are the usual sections on the water supply, sewage, and a few other services. The brief section called "Public Assistance" is interesting because on October 31, 1947, the National Assistance Bill which was introduced in the House of Commons provided for the repeal of the Poor Law and for the Assistance Board (to be renamed National Assistance Board) to assume responsibility for the assistance of all persons whose needs could be met by the grant of money and for transients. The county borough councils—the old Public Assistance Authorities under the Poor Law—are in general "confined to the provision of residential accommodation for persons who by reason of age, infirmity, or other circumstances need care and attention which they cannot otherwise obtain, and of specialised welfare services for the blind, deaf, and other handicapped classes."

Guardianship: A Way of Fulfilling Public Responsibility for Children. By IRVING WEISSMAN, in association with LAURA STOLZENBERG, HARRY S. MOORE, JR., ROBBIE W. PATTERSON. (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 330.) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949. Pp. vii+203. \$0.45.

The *Review* has a special interest in this study, which notes the work of our late editor, Sophonisba Breckinridge. The report says "the idea of the study goes back to the pioneering researches done by Sophonisba P. Breckinridge and her students at the University of Chicago School of Social Service Administration, notably Hasseltine Byrd Taylor, author of *Law of Guardian and Ward*,¹ and Mary Stanton, whose doctoral thesis on the subject of guardianship is in press."

These earlier studies as well as the reports which came from states and local communities combined to make the Children's Bureau aware of the need for special attention to problems related to the guardianship of children.

Old problems and new problems are both discussed. It is pointed out that, as a result of war casualties and the wartime and postwar disturbances of family life, great numbers of children have been separated from their parents, and this has led to an increasing need for their care and supervision away from home. The report also calls attention to the fact that with more children becoming "eligible for financial benefits under social-security and veterans' legislation safeguards are necessary to insure that payments are used for the children's benefit—especially the children who are not living in their parental homes." It is probably true also that the local and state public welfare agencies are taking more responsibility for children "to clarify public responsibility." Therefore, it is important that greater attention be given to the legal status of children.

The report points out that such subjects as the care of children outside the parental home, the protection of their funds, the assumption of public responsibility for them—all frequently involve questions of guardianship—a fact borne out in informal discussions with federal agencies, particularly those handling social-security and veterans' benefits, and in exploratory visits to several states, during the preliminary stages of the study.

We are also reminded that "social-work literature contains only brief general reference to the subject except for the Taylor book and Sophonisba P. Breckinridge's *The Family and the State* and Grace Abbott's *The Child and the State*." In recent years this *Review* has published several articles on special phases of the subject, notably by Sophonisba P. Breckinridge and Mary Stanton. However, attention is called to

¹ Published as a Social Service Monograph, edited with an introductory note by Miss Breckinridge.

the absence of papers on the subject in such publications as the proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, the *Bulletin* of the Child Welfare League of America, and the *Journal of Social Casework* or its predecessor, *The Family*.

In this report the states selected for study were California, Connecticut, Florida, Louisiana, Michigan, and Missouri. The methods used in gathering the information included a review of the laws relating to the guardianship of minors in each state studied; interviews with judges and other court workers concerning court organization, policies, and procedures, and with lawyers, public officials, and social workers concerning their contacts with the court in relation to guardianship cases; observation of the courts at work; reading court records, and statistical study of cases before the court for appointment and discharge of guardians during the entire year 1945; case-study of a small number of children under guardianship, by home visits and by reading of case records on those children who were found to be known to social agencies.

Some four thousand schedules on individual children were prepared, and case studies of sixty-seven children under guardianship were made by home visits and by interviews with guardians, wards, and others interested.

Essentials of Adoption Law and Procedure.
(U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 331.) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949. Pp. 27. \$0.15.

This very useful small publication contains a brief discussion of the adoption law as related to minors. While it is pointed out that the adoption of adults should be provided for, this should be done in a separate law since the safeguards necessary for minors are not necessary for adults.

But during the past few years there has been progress made "toward bringing adoption laws into harmony with recognized principles of child protection." That is, in adoption legislation a trend has been developing toward recognizing "legal and social concern for the welfare of the child." It is pointed out that emphasis upon legal and social protection that will prevent invasion of the rights of parents and children may be found in provisions of recent adoption laws relating to "consent to adoption." There is also increasing awareness of the need for legislation closely related to the adoption statute that will

require court sanction of voluntary relinquishment or surrender of parental rights.

It is true that "no law relating to the welfare of children stands by itself" and that the principles and the standards essential for the full protection of children must be "the foundation of the whole network of statutory administrative provisions benefiting children." The present report suggests that this interdependence is "illustrated forcefully by adoption law, which, although dealing with a specific area of protective legislation itself, depends upon many other legal provisions and administrative practices for its effectiveness as an instrument to safeguard children." It is therefore important that the provisions of a proposed adoption law should be "studied carefully in relation to other laws that may have a bearing upon adoption," especially the statutes relating to the transfer of parental rights and responsibilities, legal guardianship, regulation of child-placing activities, licensing of foster-homes, and inheritance.

There are many who think that jurisdiction should be given to a single court, which should be a court of record having jurisdiction over children's cases. In some states constitutional provisions determine which court has jurisdiction, but in most states this is a question for the legislature to decide. The designated court should be one equipped to deal with cases which require an understanding of the principles of child-welfare work and the services of social agencies.

Some of the principles of adoption are widely understood. For example, "placement for adoption should be made only by an agency authorized to make such placements by the State department of public welfare"—"authorized agency" being defined as "an agency which has been licensed, certified, or approved by the State department of public welfare to place children for adoption."

A useful suggestion is made with regard to the State Bureau of Vital Statistics concerning adoptions for each state and for the country as a whole, which may well be considered of equal importance with data on births and deaths and in some states data on marriages and divorces. The adoption law should therefore provide that upon entry of the final decree of adoption the court should forward a report to the state registrar of vital statistics on specially provided forms. The law should provide that if the child was born in another state, information with regard to the adoption should be sent to the state registrar of vital statistics of that state by the

state registrar of the state in which the adoption occurred. However, it is important to note that adoption data sent to a state registrar of vital statistics should be "declared confidential and not open to public inspection." For the adopted child it is important that vital-statistics records be accurate, partly because of the increased use of information from birth records to establish age and other facts for school attendance, work permits, and other purposes. And if the child's name should be changed by adoption, unless the adoption and change of name have been recorded, it is impossible for the registrar to give the adopted child the information that ties in the details on his original birth record with his new name and status under the adoption decree. In later life "accurate and complete records will enable him to establish his true identity if occasion arises."

However, it is again emphasized that the law should provide that the information is confidential in all records, books, and papers, relating to adoption cases in the court, in the files of state welfare departments, and of any other agencies participating in the adoption.

The American Family: A Factual Background.

Report of the Inter-agency Committee on Background Material, National Conference on Family Life, May, 1948. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949. Pp. 457. \$1.25.

This volume is the work of an interdepartmental committee of federal governmental agencies which worked together to produce a compilation of factual material about the American family for the use of the National Conference on Family Life. There are seven reports, each devoted to one aspect of American family life, brought together in this volume. Basic family and population statistics are here made available and also studies on the place of the family in American economy, education, family health, housing, and family's legal status, and income maintenance and social services. The text is supplemented by detailed tables.

The interdepartmental committee included representatives from the Department of Agriculture; Department of Commerce; Department of Labor; Housing and Home Finance Agency; and the Federal Security Agency. While the National Conference on Family Life was a private organization, this volume is one product of the total work of the conference,

which successfully combined the resources of private and public agencies.

The material in this volume was prepared in order to provide a background for subjects discussed by the National Conference on Family Life which was held in Washington in 1948. It is made available to serve a wider purpose and for the use of students and workers concerned with the problems of American family life today.

The Outlook for Women in Police Work. UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, WOMEN'S BUREAU. (Women's Bureau Bulletin No. 231.) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949. Pp. x+31. \$0.15.

This interesting and useful report is a by-product of a larger study on the outlook for women in the social services which the Women's Bureau now has under way. This part of the study has been published because women employed in this field have asked for more information about it.

The work of the policeman, the sheriff, the state trooper, and other men who enforce law and order is said to have received generous attention from the press and various periodicals in recent years. However, the authors call attention to the few attempts that have been made to bring the policewoman before the public except in a popular way.

Two earlier studies have been used: First, a 1945 study of twenty-nine cities made by a Chicago policewoman and dealing with manner of appointment, method of supervision, types of duties, rank of policewomen, and training programs both for recruits and for in-service workers. The second study in 1945-46, made by a woman member of the Detroit Police Department, gave statistical information supplied by 141 cities employing policewomen.

This report deals with the pre-war distribution of policewomen; wartime changes; postwar distribution; future outlook; variations in the outlook; requirements for entrance; training; organizations; earnings, hours, and advancement; suggestions to those entering the field.

The report estimates that more than a thousand women are employed in this country as policewomen, in addition to the approximately two thousand women in other government law-enforcement work, serving, for example, as deputy sheriffs or as customs or immigration inspectors. The first policewoman under that

name was appointed in Los Angeles in 1910. As early as 1893, however, the mayor of Chicago appointed a woman who was listed on police rolls as a patrolman, and in 1905 in Portland, Oregon, a woman was assigned to do preventive-protective work with girls and women at the time of the Lewis and Clark Exposition. By 1915 at least sixteen cities are said to have had policewomen.

The authors of the report think that an increasing future use of policewomen's services "seems likely, not only because available statistics indicate steady growth in this field over a number of years, but also because there is increasing recognition of a need for police participation in community preventive and protective programs." However, the demand as a whole seems to be small, although the authors think that its growth is likely to continue. A change is noted from the earlier work in crime detection to the modern crime prevention services. "The primary function of policewomen today is social and preventive work involving women and children."

Report on 1948 Women's Bureau Conference: The American Woman, Her Changing Role—Worker, Homemaker, Citizen. (Bureau Publication 224.) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1948. Pp. x+210.

This useful pamphlet includes the addresses made during the conference last year held by the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor on three successive days in Washington, the subject "The American Woman, Her Changing Role—Worker, Homemaker, Citizen." Participating in the conference were the representatives of seventy women's organizations, civic and professional groups, and labor unions; women administering state labor laws; and women from management groups.

Among the participants were the former secretary of labor, Mr. Schwellenbach; Miss Frieda Miller of the Women's Bureau, whose subject was "Who Works, Where, and Why"; Miss Gladys Dickason, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, speaking on "Gains and Goals of Women Workers"; Elizabeth Magee, National Consumers League, on "The Role of Women's Legislation in Meeting Basic Problems of Working Conditions"; Dean Thompson of Vassar College on "Women's Status—Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow"; Professor Hazel Kyrk, University of Chicago, on "Family Responsibilities of Earning Women"; and a panel discussion on

"The Shifting Status of Women," which included among the discussants Elizabeth Christman, National Women's Trade Union League; Dorothy Kenyon, UN Commission on the Status of Women; and others well-known in women's movements.

Part II includes some conference keynotes and a list of individual women who have advanced the welfare and status of women.

There are four appendixes, including some useful charts and a "Summary of State Labor Laws for Women, To Accompany 'The Role of Women's Legislation in Meeting Basic Problems of Working Conditions.'"

Social Welfare Activities in New York: The Why, the Wherefore, the How, the Who. Albany, N.Y.: State Department of Social Welfare, 1949. Pp. 23.

This is a very readable account of the activities that are usually included under the term "social welfare." It could well have been made into a printed pamphlet with illustrations for popular use.

The relation between public and private agencies is discussed, and, although this is a very large subject and cannot easily be dealt with so briefly, there is much that is useful. The State Board, together with the State Department of Social Welfare, have "responsibilities for developing and setting standards, and for supervision, not only in the public welfare field but in the private welfare field as well. In the area of private welfare, the Board and the Department are concerned with matters affecting the health, safety, treatment and training of persons under the care of private institutions and agencies. The Board promulgates policies and rules designed to fulfill these responsibilities."

The supervisory responsibilities of the State Department are said to include the following: 1,536 agencies, including 67 local public welfare districts; 173 homes for children; 240 child-caring institutions providing temporary or special care; 127 child-placing agencies; 465 hospitals; 96 dispensaries; 201 homes for the aged; 59 public homes; 108 special homes or shelters for adults.

These agencies, of course, include the programs and services administered by "local public and private institutions and agencies." In 1948 these 1,536 agencies and institutions and the department are said to have "provided as-

sistance, care or service for 3,443,000 men, women, and children," and the public and private expenditures for these purposes in 1948 were approximately \$497,000,000, of which \$318,030,383 represented public funds.

International List of Schools of Social Work and Other Educational Institutions Offering Social Work Training. Compiled by the DIVISION OF SOCIAL ACTIVITIES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS OF THE UNITED NATIONS. Lake Success, N.Y.: Information and Technical Reference Centre, UN, 1949. Pp. 33.

The Division of Social Activities of the Department of Social Affairs has furnished this rather extensive international list of schools of social work and other educational institutions offering training for social work. Sir Raphael Cilento, who signs the brief introductory note of less than one page, which appears in both English and French, says that "the Division of Social Activities has been materially assisted in the task by national associations of social work and by the International Committee of Schools

of Social Work and the International Catholic Union for Social Service." It is pointed out that the data assembled show that there are at least 359 educational institutions in forty-one countries "which now prepare students, to a lesser or greater extent, for careers in social work. These same data, however, reveal marked differences, both from country to country and within particular countries, with respect to the amount and kind of training that is offered as preparation for the competent performance of social work functions."

As presented, the material will be of limited use: the only facts given are the name and address of the schools in each country with the name of the director.

In the United States the institutions marked with an asterisk are accredited by the American Association of Schools of Social Work as graduate professional schools of social work. Some of the institutions listed are in universities that are not well known, and the departments which offer courses in social work must be very small and offer quite inadequate programs which may be misleading to students in other countries.

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